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DE SENECTUTE

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M. TULLI CICERONIS CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE

EDITED FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE plan of this book is in general the same with that of the editions of other portions of Cicero which I have prepared for the Pitt Press Series. But with regard to the aim of the edition it is still necessary to say a few words, in order to prevent misapprehension. The editions of the speeches for *Archias* and for *Balbus*, and of the *Laelius de Amicitia*, have been noticed in the public prints with many kind and encouraging words, which I appreciate. There is, however, one mistake which is often made in noticing books of this kind. It is assumed that school-books must needs be all of one class, and should all be brought down to the comprehension of very young children. Now I feel sure teachers of experience will agree that the easiest portions of Cicero, that is to say, some of the speeches, are too difficult to be read by any part of an ordinary Public School below the Lower Fourth; further that the easiest parts

of Cicero's philosophical works (to which the *Cato maior* belongs) cannot profitably be studied by boys below the Upper Fourth or Lower Fifth. In German '*Gymnasien*' Cicero is hardly ever read until boys have attained to '*Secunda*'. These are the students whom I have chiefly had in view while preparing the edition, though I hope it may prove useful to higher students also. At the same time I have pursued another object which is, I think, not incompatible with the primary purpose of the edition; I have striven to bring my own general study of Latin, and special study of Cicero's works, to bear on the interpretation of the treatise, so as to bring into view matters which may have some interest and value for mature scholars. The notes may be considered too full by some; my own opinion is that Latin is better learned by a painstaking study of a few books than by a rapid reading of a great many, though a judicious interchange between a minute study of some books, and a broad and cursory reading of others, will produce the best results. I have tried to give a note on every matter which a thoroughly practised scholar might think worth bringing before the notice of a pupil sufficiently advanced to be able to appreciate the treatise.

I have compared all or nearly all of the editions which in recent times have supplied original contri-

butions to the elucidation of the text. Two I have found much more useful than the rest, viz. the edition of Tischer (Halle, 1847), and the valuable and too little known edition by Allen (Dublin, 1852). The latter I have only been able to use while writing a portion of the notes. My obligations to these and other editors are acknowledged, each in its proper place.

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July, 1879.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The date at which the dialogue was written.*

THE *Cato maior* belongs to the end of Cicero's life. From the year 46 to his death in 42 B.C. he wrote incessantly on philosophical and rhetorical subjects. In literary work he sought to find consolation at once for his grief at the downfall of the old constitution, and for the deep pain he felt upon the loss of his beloved and only daughter. We are able to fix with almost perfect exactness the date at which the *Cato maior* was written. First, a mention in Cicero's work entitled *De divinatione*[1] shows that the *Cato maior* preceded that work by a short time. Now the *De divinatione* was written after the assassination of Caesar, that is after the 15th of March in the year 44[2]. Again, the *Cato maior* is mentioned as a recent work in three letters addressed by Cicero to Atticus[3]. The earliest of these letters was written on or about the 12th of May, 44[4]. We shall hardly err therefore if we assume that Cicero composed the *Cato maior* in April of the year 44[5]. This agrees also with slight indications

[1] 2, 3 *interiectus est nuper liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus.* No argument can be founded on the words *interiectus est*, over which the editors have wasted much ingenuity. They simply mean 'there was inserted in the series of my works'.

[2] See 2, 23.

[3] 14, 21, 3; 16, 3, 1; 16, 11, 3.

[4] See Att. 14, 21, 1.

[5] It was certainly not written, as Sommerbrodt assumes, in the intervals of composing the De divinatione. The words in 2, 7 of that work—*quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus etc.* point to the end of September or beginning of October 44, when Cicero returned to Rome and began to compose his Philippic orations.

in the work itself. In the dedicatory introduction Cicero speaks of troubles weighing heavily on himself and Atticus[1]. Any one who reads the letters to Atticus despatched in April 44 will have little doubt that the troubles hinted at are the apprehensions as to the course Antonius would take, from whom Cicero had something personally to fear. Atticus was using all the influence he could bring to bear on Antonius in order to secure Cicero's safety; hence Cicero's care to avoid in the dedication all but the vaguest possible allusions to politics. Had that introduction been written before Caesar's death, we should have had plain allusions (as in the prooemia of the *Academica*, the *De finibus*, the *Tusculan disputations* and the *De natura deorum*) to Caesar's dictatorship[2].

The time was one of desperate gloom for Cicero. The wound caused by his daughter's death[3] was still unhealed, and his brief outburst of joy over Caesar's end had been quickly succeeded by disgust and alarm at the proceedings of Antonius. It is easy to catch some echoes in the *Cato maior* of Cicero's grief at that time. When it is said that of all Cato's titles to admiration none is higher than the fortitude he showed in bearing the death of his son[4], the writer is thinking of the struggle he himself had been waging against a like sorrow for more than a year past; and when Cato expresses his firm conviction that he should meet his child beyond the grave[5], we can see Cicero's own yearning for reunion with his deeply loved Tullia.

§ 2. *The title of the work.*

There seems no doubt that Cicero himself meant the work to bear the name *Cato maior* as its *principal* title. He twice gives it this name[6]; in one of the passages[7] he adds the descriptive words (addressed to Atticus) *qui est scriptus ad te de senectute*. In a third notice[8] he gives the description without

[1] § 1.

[2] It is perhaps not a mere accident that the prowess of L. Brutus *in liberanda patria* is mentioned in § 75. There may be a glance at the latest Brutus who had freed his country.

[3] In March 45.

[4] § 12.

[5] § 85.

[6] Lael. 4; Att. 14, 21, 1.

[7] Lael. 4.

[8] De div. 2, 3.

the title—*liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus*. On the whole it seems most likely that Cicero intended his essay to be known as the *Cato maior de senectute*, the full title corresponding with *Laelius de amicitia*[1]. The word *maior* was necessary to distinguish the book from Cicero's eulogy of the younger Cato (Uticensis) which seems to have gone by the name of *Cato* simply[2].

§ 3. *The general plan and purpose of the dialogue.*

The *Cato maior* is a popular essay in Ethics, applying the principles of philosophy to the alleviation of one of life's chief burdens, old age[3]. In ancient times, when philosophy formed the real and only religion of the educated class, such themes were deemed to afford a worthy employment for the pens even of the greatest philosophers. Such essays formed the only substitute the ancients had for our *Sermons*. There can be no doubt of Cicero's sincerity when he says that the arguments he sets forth in the treatise had given him real comfort[4], and the opening words of the dedication show that he meant and hoped to administer the same comfort to his friend Atticus, who indeed acknowledged the benefit he derived from the work[5]. When Cicero wrote the treatise he was himself sixty-two years of age, while his friend was three years older. Our author therefore speaks rather euphemistically when he says that his purpose is to lighten the trouble of an old age which is already close at hand, or at all events approaching[6].

But in addition to the main ethical purpose, there was, as is the case in so many of Cicero's works, a distinct political purpose. He desired to stimulate in his readers an admiration for what he regarded as the golden age of Roman politics, the era

[1] For this and other similar titles see the Introduction to my edition of the Laelius, pp. 12, 13.

[2] The Cato was written in 46.

[3] For Cicero's philosophical views in general, and his chief philosophical works, see the Introduction to my edition of the Laelius, pp. 7—10.

[4] See § 2.

[5] Att. 16, 11, 3 '*o Tite*' *tibi prodesse laetor;* cf. ib. 16, 3, 1, also ib. 14, 21, 3 *legendus mihi saepius est Cato maior ad te missus; amariorem enim me senectus facit; stomachor omnia.*

[6] § 2.

of the Punic wars, and to do so by making the contrast between that age and his own appear as striking as possible. A like double purpose is apparent throughout the *De re publica*, where Africanus the younger is the chief personage, and in the treatise on Friendship, where Laelius is the central figure. For the dialogue on Old Age Cicero selects as the principal speaker M. Porcius Cato the Censor, for two reasons; first because he was renowned for the vigour of mind and body he displayed in advanced life[1]; secondly because in him were conspicuously exhibited the serious simplicity, the unswerving adherence to principle, the self-sacrificing patriotism, which were the ideal Roman virtues and which Cicero missed in the politicians of his time.

§ 4. *Greek sources of the dialogue.*

All Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical works were confessedly founded more or less on Greek originals. In several passages of the *Cato maior* he has clearly indicated the stores on which he principally drew. Passages from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and *Cyropaedia* are translated in chapters 17 and 22. In chapters 2, 3 we have a close imitation of the conversation between Socrates and Cephalus at the outset of Plato's *Republic*, while in c. 21 one of the most striking parts of the *Phaedo* is reproduced. In Appendix B (at the end of this book) these portions of Plato and Xenophon will be found side by side with Cicero's imitations. The view of the divine origin and divine destiny of the human soul which is contained in the passage of the *Phaedo* is rendered by Cicero in many of his works[2], and was held by him with a quite religious fervour and sincerity.

But beyond these special debts, Cicero no doubt in writing this dialogue was under obligations of a more general kind to the Greeks. The form of the dialogue was Aristotelian, rather than Platonic[3]; the quick interchange of question and answer which more or less appears in all Plato's works is here avoided;

[1] As Cicero's intention was to set old age in a favourable light, he slights Aristo Cius for giving to Tithonus the chief part in a dialogue on old age; see § 3.

[2] Particularly the first book of the Tusculan Disputations, the De re publica and the Laelius.

[3] See the Introduction to my edition of the Laelius, pp. 13, 14.

lengthy discourse is the rule and the conversation merely comes in by way of episode. But further it is highly probable that Cicero owed to some particular Greek dialogue on Old Age the general outline of the arguments he uses in the *Cato maior*. Many of the Greek illustrative allusions most likely had the same origin, though in many instances Roman illustrations have been substituted for Greek. Whether the dialogue by Aristo Cius cursorily mentioned in the *Cato maior*[1] was used by Cicero to any extent or not, cannot be determined[2].

§ 5. *Personages of the dialogue.*

The conversation is supposed to take place between Cato, Scipio Africanus the younger and Laelius in the year before Cato's death, *i.e.* 150 B.C., when he was in his eighty-fourth year[3], Scipio being about 35 and Laelius a few years older.

a. M. Porcius Cato was born in 234 B.C.[4] at the ancient Latin town of Tusculum. Little is known of his family. It was plebeian, and possessed a small patrimony in the territory of the Sabines, close to the farm of M'. Curius Dentatus, one of Cato's great heroes and models. The heads of the family, so far as memory extended, had distinguished themselves as tough warriors and hardy farmers. Among the Sabines, who even down to the times of the Empire were famed for simplicity of manners and the practice of all the sterner virtues, Cato passed those portions of his life which were not occupied with business of state. From his earliest days he toiled in his own fields, and contented himself with the hardest rustic life[5]. Yet even in his boyhood Cato must have passed intervals at Rome, and seen

[1] § 3.

[2] Works on old age are said to have been written by Theophrastus and Demetrius Phalereus, either of which Cicero might have used. One passage, in § 67 (*facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur*) is said by the editors, on the suggestion of Drakenborch, to be imitated from Hippocrates, but the resemblance is most likely accidental.

[3] § 32 *quartum ago annum et octogesimum.* Cf. Lael. 11 *memini Catonem ante quam est mortuus mecum et cum Scipione disserere etc.*

[4] Cicero always indicates this date; cf. § 14. Some other writers, as Livy, give, probably wrongly, an earlier date.

[5] He says himself (Festus p. 281) *ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque industria omnem adulescentiam, abstinui agro*

something of the great statesmen and generals of the time[1]. He seems to have received when young as thorough an education as was possible without learning Greek, such an education as was only to be got in the capital. He grew up to manhood in the comparatively quiet time between the first and second Punic wars; the most exciting event of his young years must have been the destruction at Clastidium of the vast hordes of Celts who had swept over the northern half of Italy, almost within reach of Rome.

Cato was of the age for military service about the time of the battle of lake Trasimenus, and entered the army then, as a common soldier[2]. The first expedition in which he is definitely said to have taken part is that of Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator against Hannibal in Campania, in 214[3]. This Roman commander was a man entirely after Cato's heart, and became one of his great models in public life.

Before and during the early years of his soldier's life, Cato succeeded in winning some reputation as an orator, having practised first in the provincial courts near his home, and afterwards at Rome[4]. This reputation as well as his great force of character procured for him a powerful life-long friend and patron, M. Valerius Flaccus, a statesman of the old Roman conservative-democratic school of politics, the leader of which was Fabius Cunctator. Through the influence of Flaccus, possibly with the aid of Fabius, Cato became military tribune, and served with that rank under Marcellus in Sicily, under Fabius again at the capture of Tarentum in 209[5], and under C. Claudius Nero at the battle of the Metaurus, where he contributed materially to that great victory.

colendo, saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis. So too (Gell. 13, 23) *neque mihi aedificatio neque vasum neque vestimentum ullum est manupretiosum. neque pretiosus servos, neque ancilla est. Si quid est quod utar, utor, si non est, egeo.*

[1] See Cat. m. 44.

[2] Plut. c. 1 (quoting from Cato); Cat. m. §§ 18, 32: Cato himself ap. Fest. s. v. *ordinarius* says *quid mihi fieret si non ego stipendia in ordine omnia ordinarius meruissem semper?*

[3] § 10.

[4] If Plutarch may be trusted, Cato at the age of 30 had won for himself the title of 'the Roman Demosthenes'.

[5] § 10.

In 204 Cato began his political career with the quaestorship[1]. As he was of obscure origin and had small private means, it was no small distinction that he had forced his way to office in his thirtieth year. The lot assigned him as quaestor to Scipio, then in Sicily and about to cross over into Africa. The chance was most unfortunate, if for no other reason, because Cato was intimately connected with the party in the senate opposed to Scipio, which had been attempting to bring him to trial for the atrocities committed by the Roman army in southern Italy. But in addition the two men were so utterly different that there was no possibility of the quaestor standing in the filial relation to his consul, as old Roman custom required. As financial officer, Cato complained of the luxury and extravagance which Scipio allowed not only to himself but to his army. Yet the complaint was made not so much on economic as on moral grounds. It seemed to Cato that the old Roman discipline and power to endure hardships were being swept away. The dispute was ended by Scipio allowing Cato to return to Rome, some authorities say from Sicily, others from Africa. According to one writer[2] he came home viâ Sardinia and brought from there with him Ennius the poet[3].

In 199 Cato was plebeian aedile, and exercised with severity the police jurisdiction pertaining to that office, yet so as to win popular approval, since he was chosen praetor for 198, without the usual interval. The province of Sardinia was entrusted to him, and he strained every nerve to make his government present as strong a contrast as possible with the lax and corrupt administration of the nobles who took Scipio for their pattern. The troops were sternly disciplined and law-breakers of every kind severely dealt with; in money matters the strictest economy prevailed; all gifts from provincials to Roman officers

[1] In § 10 Cicero makes the quaestorship fall in 205, but he refers to the election not to the actual year of office.

[2] Nepos (or pseudo-Nepos), Cat. 1.

[3] Cato afterwards made it a charge against M. Fulvius Nobilior that he had taken Ennius with him on a campaign (pro Arch. 16). But Cato used Ennius as a soldier while Nobilior used him as a poet.

were forbidden. The praetor, the great representative of Roman power, passed from town to town attended by a single servant.

In 196 Cato was occupied with his canvass for the consulship of the year 195, to which he was elected in company with his friend Flaccus. Cato was the first *novus homo* elected since C. Flaminius, the consul of 217. It is probable, though not certain, that he paved the way to his election by carrying the first of the *leges Porciae*, restricting the right of punishing Roman citizens. During the whole of his career Cato showed a high sense of the importance of the individual *civis Romanus.*

One of the first official acts of the new consul was to deliver a set speech to the people against a proposal to repeal the Oppian law, passed twenty years before, the object of which was to prevent lavish expenditure on dress and adornments, particularly by women. We have a lively report of Cato's speech from Livy's pen, partly founded on the speech as published by Cato himself[1]. The earnest pleading in favour of simple manners and economy failed, after having almost caused an open insurrection on the part of the women[2].

The two new provinces in Spain, Hispania citerior and ulterior, were still in a very unsettled state. The nearer province was made a consular province and assigned to Cato; the praetor who governed the farther province was also placed under Cato's jurisdiction. Before leaving Rome Cato carried a law for protecting the provincials from extortion. During the whole of his year of office he practised with the utmost exactness his principles of purity simplicity and economy in public affairs. He is said to have started from his house on the journey to Spain with only three servants, but when he got as far as the forum, it struck him that such an attendance was scarcely worthy of a Roman consul, so he purchased two more slaves on the spot! In the same spirit, before returning, he sold his horse that the state might not be at the expense of transporting it to Italy. Cato was no less careful of the

[1] It is difficult, however, to fix the date of this enactment. Some authorities place it after Cato's return from Spain.

[2] Livy 34, cc. 1—8.

revenue than of the expenditure. He largely increased the productiveness of the mines and other property belonging to the state, and all goods captured from the enemy were sold for the benefit of the exchequer. On leaving the province Cato made an unusually large gift to each soldier, saying that it was better for all to bring home silver than for a few to bring home gold. The provincials were thoroughly content with their ruler and ever after looked on him as their best friend. The army was kept in the strictest discipline. Some disorderly conduct of the *equites* was rebuked by Cato in a bitter harangue which he afterwards published. Partly by craft, partly by good leadership in the field, Cato broke the strength of the turbulent natives and returned to enjoy a well-earned triumph[1]. In the same year (194) a brilliant triumph was celebrated by Flamininus.

Scipio, probably uneasy at the great reputations quickly won by Flamininus and Cato, secured his second consulship for the year 194 but failed to achieve anything remarkable. Cato probably spent the three years after his return for the most part at his Sabine farm. When the war against Antiochus broke out, he took service along with his friend Flaccus on the staff of the consul Glabrio[2], and by a difficult march over the mountains broke in on the king's rear, and so was chiefly instrumental in winning the great battle of Thermopylae, by which Antiochus was driven out of Greece. Immediately after the battle Cato returned home with despatches. We have dim and uncertain information that he took the field once or twice again, but his career as a soldier was practically ended.

[1] This is the account Livy (34, 18) gives of Cato in Spain: *in consule ea vis animi atque ingeni fuit ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret atque ageret, nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quae in rem essent, sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret, nec in quemquam omnium gravius severiusque quam in semet ipsum imperium exerceret, parsimonia et vigiliis et labore cum ultimis militum certaret, nec quicquam in exercitu suo praecipui praeter honorem atque imperium haberet.*

[2] *i.e.* he was *legatus consularis* (it was at the time a common thing for ex-consuls to take service under their successors). So Liv. 36, 17, 1, but Cic. Cat. m. 10 says *tribunus militum*.

From this time to his death, forty years later, Cato was the leading figure on the stage of Roman politics. In season and out of season he attacked abuses or innovations in speeches addressed to the senate, the people, or the courts. Soon after his return from Thessaly he struck a heavy blow at the unrepublican honour-hunting among the magistrates, of which the example had been set by P. Scipio Africanus. Most provincial governors drove their subjects into war, sent lying despatches home about their victories and claimed a triumph. In 190 Cato attacked with success the proposal to grant a triumph to Q. Minucius Thermus, who had already triumphed over the Spaniards as praetor, and after his consulship in 193 had fought against the Ligurians. Cato's next victim was his former commander M' Acilius Glabrio, who came forward at the same time with Cato, Marcellus (a son of the captor of Syracuse), L. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, T. Quinctius Flamininus (the conqueror of Macedonia) and Cato's friend L. Valerius Flaccus, as candidate for the censorship of 189. Cato by his violent speeches procured the trial of Glabrio for appropriating the plunder captured in Thessaly, and himself gave evidence concerning some property which had disappeared. Glabrio denounced Cato as a perjurer, but yet retired from his candidature. On this occasion Cato and Flaccus failed, Marcellus being elected as plebeian and Flamininus as patrician censor.

In the next year (188) Cato acted in the senate with the party which tried unsuccessfully to refuse the triumph to the two consuls of 189, M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso, the former of whom had gained none but trifling advantages over the Aetolians, while the latter had disgraced the Roman name by making war without authorisation upon the Gauls of Asia Minor, and had also suffered a humiliating defeat from some Thracian robber bands on his homeward march. Not disheartened by their ill fortune, Cato and his friends determined to strike at higher game. L. Scipio Asiagenus (not Asiaticus), the brother of Africanus, was asserted in the senate to have appropriated 3000 talents of public money, when in command against Antiochus. Legal proceedings were taken not only

against Asiagenus but against Africanus, who behaved with great violence and arrogance. In the end Africanus withdrew to his country estate, while his brother was condemned to pay a heavy fine. A death-stroke had been given to the almost kingly authority of Africanus, who never again showed his face in Rome. The proceedings against the Scipios seem to have begun in 187 and not to have been completed before 185.

Nearly twenty years had passed since the conflict between Cato and Scipio began and now it had ended in a complete triumph for Cato[1]. But the new modes of which Scipio was the chief patron were too strong to be conquered, and Cato spent the rest of his life in fighting a hopeless battle against them, though he fought for a time with the strongest weapons that the constitution supplied. In 184 he was censor along with Flaccus, who seems to have allowed his colleague full liberty of action. Every portion of the censor's duty was carried out on the most severe and 'old Roman' principles. Seven senators were degraded, among them L. Flamininus an ex-consul and brother of the 'liberator of the Hellenes' for serious misconduct[2], also Manilius, an ex-praetor, for no worse offence than that of having kissed his wife in presence of his daughter. M. Furius Purpurio, who had actually competed with Cato for the censorship, was punished for diverting a public aqueduct for his private advantage. Flaccus was named leader of the senate in the place of Scipio Africanus, now dead.

On reviewing the *equites*, Cato removed from that body L. Scipio, also others on various charges; this one had allowed himself to grow too fat for horsemanship; that had failed to groom his horse properly; another had neglected his farm; another again had made an untimely jest on the occasion of the review itself. With the ordinary citizens Cato dealt just as harshly. In his censorian edict he sharply reproved the extravagance prevalent at private feasts. All articles of luxury

[1] Cicero's statements throughout the treatise concerning the relations between Cato and Africanus the elder, particularly in § 77 where Cato calls his enemy *amicissimus*, are audaciously inexact.

[2] See Cato m. § 42.

such as slaves purchased at fancy prices, luxurious clothing, carriages, statues and pictures were rendered liable to heavy taxation, in most cases to taxation thirty times as heavy as that which fell on other property. In this way Cato revenged himself for the repeal of the Oppian law.

In looking after the property and income of the state Cato followed the same principles he had acted on in Spain. He reduced the expenditure on public works as far as possible, and took care to sell at the full price the right to collect the revenue. Encroachments on the property of the nation were severely punished.

Not by acts only, but by constant speeches full at once of grimness and humour, did Cato struggle against the degeneracy of his time[1]. He concluded his period of office with a self-laudatory harangue, and assumed the title *Censorius*, while his statue was placed in the temple of the goddess Salus with an inscription affirming that he had reformed the Roman nation.

But in a very brief time all trace of Cato's activity as censor was swept away, except that afforded by the numerous life-long quarrels in which he had involved himself[2]. In less than two years one of his victims, Purpurio, was employed by the senate on a high political mission, while another, L. Flamininus, sat among the senators at the games in defiance of Cato's sentence. Yet Cato remained by far the most powerful member of the senate. Titus Flamininus, his only important rival, quickly passed out of notice. So far as there was any democratic opposition to the senatorial oligarchy, Cato was the leader of that opposition for the remainder of his life. But at that period no great political movements agitated the state within; nearly the whole interest of the time is centred in the foreign relations of Rome. On matters of foreign policy Cato offered but little opposition to the prevailing tendencies of the age, though on particular occasions he exercised great influence. But his voice

[1] We possess the titles of 26 speeches delivered during or concerning his censorship.

[2] He is said to have undergone fifty prosecutions and to have been prosecutor as often.

was at all times loudly heard on all questions of morality and public order. He supported the *lex Furia* and the *lex Voconia*, the object of which was to prevent the dissipation of family property, and the *lex Orchia*, directed against extravagant expenditure on feasts, also the *lex Baebia de ambitu*, the first serious attempt to check bribery. We hear also that Cato bitterly attacked Lepidus, censor in 180, for erecting a permanent theatre in place of the movable booths before used. The building was actually pulled down. We are told that from time to time he denounced the misdoings of provincial governors. In 174 he was one of a commission of five for bringing to justice three ex-praetors who had practised all manner of corruption in Spain. Almost the last act of his life was to prosecute Galba for cruel misgovernment of the Lusitanians. The titles of Cato's speeches show that he played a great part in the deliberations of the senate concerning foreign affairs, but as his fighting days were over and he was unfitted for diplomacy, we have little explicit evidence of his activity in this direction. At the end of the third Macedonian war he successfully opposed the annexation of Macedonia. He also saved from destruction the Rhodians, who during the war had plainly desired the victory of Perseus, and in the early days, when the Roman commanders had ill success, had deeply wounded the whole Roman nation by an offer to mediate between them and the king of Macedon.

Cato had all his life retained his feeling of enmity to the Carthaginians, whom Scipio, he thought, had treated too tenderly. In 157 he was one of an embassy sent to Carthage, and came back filled with alarm at the prosperity of the city. It is said that whatever was the subject on which he was asked for his opinion in the senate, he always ended his speech with '*ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem*'. P. Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Africanus, and the representative of his policy, always shouted out the opposite opinion, thinking that the fear of Carthage had a salutary effect on the Roman populace at large. But the ideas of Cato prevailed, and a cruel policy carried out with needless brutality led to the extinction of Rome's greatest

rival. Cato did not live to see the conclusion of the war; he died in 149, at the age of 84 or 85 years, having retained his mental and physical vigour to the last. He had two sons, one by his first wife, and one by his second wife, born when Cato was 80 years of age. The elder son, to whom many of Cato's works were addressed, died as praetor-elect, before his father[1]. The other was grandfather of Cato Uticensis.

The literary activity of the old censor was great, though his leisure was small. In Cicero's time a collection of 150 speeches was still extant. The titles of about 90 are still known to us, and of some we possess a few fragments. Cato's greatest work, however, was his *Origines*, the first real historical work written in Latin. His predecessors had been merely compilers of chronicles. The work was founded on laborious investigations, and comprised the history of Rome from the earliest times to 150 B.C.[2], as well as notices of the history of other important Italian states. Further, Cato wrote of Agriculture, to which he was enthusiastically devoted. We still have his *De re rustica*, a collection of maxims loosely strung together. He also composed works on law; a sort of educational encyclopaedia for his son; and a collection of witty sayings (Ἀποφθέγματα) drawn from Greek as well as Roman sources.

Plutarch seems to have known a collected edition of the pungent and proverbial utterances for which the censor was famous, and for which (not for any knowledge of philosophy) he received the title of *sapiens* ('shrewd') which he bore at the end of his life. This edition was however not compiled by Cato himself.

In view of Cicero's treatise, the *Cato maior*, it is necessary to say something of Cato's relations with the Greeks and Greek literature. The ancients merely give us vague statements that he only began to learn Greek 'in his old age'. The expression must be liberally interpreted if, as seems clear, the whole of his writings showed the influence of Greek literature. It is certain, however, that he thoroughly detested the Greek nation. Pliny

[1] See Lael. 9; Cat. m. 12 and 84.

[2] I do not hold the common view that Cato said nothing of Roman history from 509—266 B.C.

the elder preserves the following fragment of the book which Cato addressed to his son: *dicam de istis Graecis suo loco, Marce fili. quid Athenis exquisitum habeam et quod bonum sit illorum litteras inspicere, non perdiscere, vincam. nequissimum et indocile genus illorum, et hoc puta vatem dixisse: quandoque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet, tum etiam magis, si medicos suos huc mittat. iurarunt inter se barbaros necare omnis medicina, et hoc ipsum mercede faciunt ut fides eis sit et facile disperdant. nos quoque dictitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios opicos appellatione foedant. interdixi tibi de medicis.* This hatred was shown in acts more than once. No doubt Cato was at the very least a consenting party to the expulsion from Rome of Greek teachers in 161 B.C. When in 155 the famous embassy came from Athens consisting of Carneades the Academic, Critolaus the Peripatetic and Diogenes the Stoic, Cato was a prime mover of the decree by which they were removed from the city. Socrates was one of Cato's favourite marks for jests. And this is the man into whose mouth Cicero puts the utterances, but slightly veiled, of Greek wisdom!

Livy (39, 40) thus judges Cato: *in hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur. Nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit; urbanas rusticasque res pariter callebat. ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit; huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret; in bello manu fortissimus multisque insignibus clarus pugnis, idem postquam ad magnos honores pervenit, summus imperator, idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus; si causa oranda esset, eloquentissimus; nec is tantum cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit, monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet, vivit immo vigetque eloquentia eius sacrata scriptis omnis generis. Orationes et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios: nam non solum accusando, sed etiam causam dicendo fatigavit inimicos. Simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Asperi procul dubio animi et linguae*

acerbae et immodice liberae fuit, sed invicti a cupiditatibus animi, rigidae innocentiae, contemptor gratiae, divitiarum. In parsimonia, in patientia laboris, periculi, ferrei prope corporis animique quem ne senectus quidem quae solvit omnia fregerit.

b. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the younger was no blood relation of the conqueror of Zama, but the adopted son of his son. It must be remembered, however, that adoption was much more formal and binding, and produced much closer ties in ancient than in modern times. The elder Africanus was unfortunate in his sons. The younger attained to the praetorship in 174 but was immediately driven from the senate by the censors of that year on account of his disreputable life. The elder was an invalid, who never held any office except that of augur, and died at an early age. He adopted the son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor of Pydna; the adopted son bore the name Aemilianus in memory of his origin. Cato's son married a daughter of Paulus, so that the censor was brought into relationship with the Cornelii, whose most illustrious representative he had hated and attacked.

The young Scipio was born about 185 and when scarce 17 years old fought with daring bravery at Pydna. While still very young he showed a great devotion to study, which he retained through life. He was a thorough partisan of the new Greek learning, and grouped around him in friendship all the leaders of the Hellenistic movement. Among his dearest friends was Polybius, the Greek statesman and historian, and later Panaetius, the Stoic. In 151 B.C. when the consuls found it difficult to enlist officers and men for service in Spain, where great defeats had been suffered, Scipio volunteered, and served with great distinction as military tribune. When the war with Carthage broke out he held the same rank, and shone by comparison with his blundering superior officers. Coming to Rome in 148 he stood for the aedileship, but was elected consul for the year 147 and again for 146, when he finished the war. He is said to have grieved over the fate of Carthage, and to have dreaded any further increase of the Roman territory. In 142 Scipio

was censor, and acted with almost Catonian severity. Elected consul for 134, he captured Numantia in the following year. While in camp he heard of and approved the death of Tiberius Gracchus, to whom he was closely related. This judgment cost him the favour of the people, and when in 131 he desired to conduct the war against Aristonicus, only two of the thirty-five tribes voted for his appointment. In 129, after a violent scene in the senate where he had opposed the carrying out of Ti. Gracchus' agrarian law, he was triumphantly escorted home by a crowd, chiefly composed of Italians whose interests had been threatened by the law. Next morning he was found dead in his bed; and Carbo the democratic leader was suspected of murder.

Whether the degree of intimacy between Cato and Scipio which Cicero assumes ever existed or not, cannot be determined[1]. There was much in Scipio which would attract Cato. Unlike the elder Africanus, he was severe and simple in his outward life, and though a lover of Greek and Greeks, yet attached to all that was best in the old Roman character and polity. Though an opponent of revolution, he was far from being a partisan of the oligarchy. Altogether, of all Romans, he most nearly deserved the description '*ἀνὴρ τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου*', 'a man four-square without reproach'. In his *De re publica*, Cicero points to Scipio as the ideal statesman, and often elsewhere eulogises him as an almost perfect Roman.

c. Gaius Laelius, born about 186, was Scipio's most distinguished officer before Carthage, and his most intimate friend throughout life. The friendship of the two was one of the most famous in antiquity, and is celebrated in Cicero's *Laelius de amicitia.* Laelius was an able speaker, writer and soldier, and devoted to Greek learning, particularly to the Stoic philosophy. He is with Cicero the type of a man of culture[2]. He too is one of the interlocutors in the *De re publica.*

[1] In De re publica 2, 1 Cicero makes Scipio talk extravagantly of Cato.

[2] See the Introduction to my edition of the Laelius, pp. 13, 14.

§ 6. *Summary of the dialogue.*

The treatise falls into the following parts:

A. §§ 1—3: dedication to Atticus.

B. §§ 4—9: introductory conversation.

C. §§ 10—85: Cato's defence of old age.

Of the dedication it is not necessary to speak. At § 4 Scipio plunges *in medias res* by declaring his admiration of Cato's vigorous and contented old age. Cato replies that the secret lies in following the guidance of nature (§§ 5, 6). Laelius then asks Cato to point out the road to such an old age as his own (§ 6). This the old man promises to do systematically, but first remarks that the faults charged on old age are generally due to the *character* of the complainants (§ 7). Laelius suggests that prosperity makes Cato's declining years easy. Cato admits this to a slight extent, but maintains that it is the well-trained character which alone can make age tolerable (§§ 8, 9).

Section C falls into the following divisions:

a. §§ 10—14: eulogy of Fabius Maximus, Plato, Ennius and others whose lives shew that old age may well be happy.

b. §§ 15—26. There are four leading complaints against age: first, 'it unfits men for business'. This is refuted.

c. §§ 27—38. Refutation of the second charge, that age weakens the bodily powers.

d. §§ 39—66. Reply to the third charge, that it renders men incapable of pleasures.

e. §§ 66—85. Consideration of the fourth and last charge, that age involves the anticipation of death.

As regards the whole of section C, it is worth noticing that Cato's exposition is entirely uninterrupted by conversation, and that the dialogue ends without any farther remarks from Scipio and Laelius. Their function is merely to set the garrulous old man talking.

Of the divisions (*a*) requires no comment. It merely refutes the assertion that old men must be miserable by producing instances of old men who have been happy. The line which

Cato takes in (*b*) is, briefly, this, that though age makes men weaker, it makes them wiser, and if they were not there to temper the headlong youth, states must go to ruin. Instances of busy age are quoted, and (§§ 21, 22) the special objection that old men have feeble memories is rebutted by the remark that this is due either to an original defect or to an insufficient exercise of the memory.

In division (*c*) it is argued (1) that temperateness in early life will to a great extent save the bodily strength (2) that no demands are made by the community on old men's muscles (3) that many cases of weakness are due to ill health (4) that caution in old age will greatly retard decay. This last contention is strengthened by the example of Appius Caecus and of Cato himself.

In division (*d*) Cato boldly urges (1) that pleasure is in itself bad and that age does us a service in freeing us from its domination (2) that old age is far from destitute of enjoyments, such as those of conversation and literature, but above all, of agriculture, which last are described with enthusiasm. The special objection that old men's tempers poison their enjoyment is met by the remark made earlier, that this is a fault of character not of age.

In division (*e*) Cato maintains (1) that death cannot in any case be an evil (2) that the right object is to live well, not long (3) that death for old men is natural, and therefore good (4) that *docti senes* can surely contemplate calmly death which *rustici adulescentes* meet with courage (5) that according to his own belief, death is the gate to a never-ending life (6) that like a well-bred guest at a banquet, the old man should contentedly depart from life when he has had his fill of it.

§ 7. *Note on the language of the Cato maior.*

It has been unhesitatingly assumed by the editors that Cicero attempted to give an antique colouring to the diction of his treatise in order to remind readers of Cato's own style. It is only necessary to read a page or two of Cato's *De re rustica* to have this illusion dispelled. The only things actually alleged

to be archaisms are (1) the use of deponent participles as passives in §§ 4, 74, 79, a thing common enough in Cicero; (2) the occurrence of *quasi*=*quem ad modum* in § 71; (3) of *audaciter*=*audacter* in § 72; (4) of *tuerentur* for *intuerentur* in § 77; (5) of *neutiquam* in § 42; (6) of the nominative of the gerund governing an accusative case in § 6. In every instance my notes will supply a refutation of the allegation. That Cicero should attempt to write in any style but his own is exceedingly improbable.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR

DE SENECTUTE.

I. *O Tite, si quid ego adiuero curamve levasso* 1
quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus isdem affari te, Attice, quibus affatur Flamininum

ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei,

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flamininum,

sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque,

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non
cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et
prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor isdem rebus
quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum con-
solatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc
autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere.
Hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam 2
urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum
levari volo: etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut
omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum
de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus

eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnis absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus
3 aetatis sine molestia possit degere. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus: hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Cius, parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio: apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantis, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem; qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

4 II. Scipio. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

Cato. Rem haud sane, Scipio et Laeli, difficilem admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas afferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putassent. Primum quis coegit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde qui minus gravis esset eis senectus, si octingentesi-

mum annum agerent, quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa, cum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. Quocirca si sapien- 5
tiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus: a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et, tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus, maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

LAELIUS. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro 6
Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe, senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

LAELIUS. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

III. CATO. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim in- 7
terfui querellis aequalium meorum, pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur, quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis, a quibus essent coli soliti; qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non

moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8 Laelius. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

Cato. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia; ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: 'nec hercule', inquit, 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses'. Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest; nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa
9 copia non gravis. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis, quamquam id quidem maximum est, verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

10 IV. Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, senem adulescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat. Quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde

quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

> *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;*
> *noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem;*
> *ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.*

Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! Cum 11
quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, 'mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti', 'certe', inquit ridens, 'nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem'. Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga; qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur; quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri. Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil admira- 12
bilius quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta! Quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris auguri! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae: omnia memoria tenebat non domestica solum, sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore unde discerem neminem.

V. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia 13

profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocrati, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto nonagesimo anno scripsisse dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'nihil habeo' inquit 'quod accusem senectutem'.
14 Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum! Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt, quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

sic ut fortis ecus, spatio qui saepe supremo
vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; quem quidem probe meminisse potestis; anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus, tot enim vixit Ennius, ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

15 Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? An
eis, quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res
sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo et mente
administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil
L. Paulus pater tuus, socer optimi viri fili mei? Ceteri
senes, Fabricii Curii Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio
et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? Ad Appi Claudi
senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum 16
sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque
faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecu-
tus est Ennius:

quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime, notum enim vobis carmen est, et
tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit
septemdecim annis post alterum consulatum, cum inter
duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante
superiorem consulatum fuisset, ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi
bello grandem sane fuisse, et tamen sic a patribus accepimus.
Nihil igitur afferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem 17
negant, similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando
nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros
cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavom tenens quietus
sedeat in puppi, non faciat ea, quae iuvenes. At vero multo
maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut
celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio
auctoritate sententia, quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam
augeri senectus solet; nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et 18
tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere
bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero. At
senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo et quo modo; Cartha-
gini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua

vereri non ante desinam quam illam exscisam esse cognovero.
19 Quam palmam utinam di immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi relliquias persequare, cuius a morte tertius hic et tricesimus annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu, nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio ratione sententia, quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent
20 senatum. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ei, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?

sic enim percontantur in Naevi poetae Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

21 VII. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina; num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant

meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant.
Quid iuris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid phi- 22
losophi senes? Quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia
senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea
solum claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata
et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias
fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem
videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum
nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici
solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent
iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus
habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, reci-
tasse iudicibus quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis
videretur, quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus.
Num igitur hunc, num Homerum Hesiodum Simoniden 23
Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi Isocraten Gorgian, num
philosophorum principes Pythagoran Democritum, num
Platonem Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem Cleanthen,
aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenen
Stoicum coegit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus? An in
omnibus studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit? Age, ut 24
ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro
Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiaris meos, quibus
absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt,
non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus.
Quamquam in aliis minus hoc mirum est, nemo enim est
tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem
in eis elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

serit arbores, quae alteri saeclo prosint,

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. Nec vero dubitat agri- 25
cola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti cui serat respondere: 'dis
immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus
voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere'.

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente, quam illud idem:

edepol, senectus, si nil quicquam aliud viti
adportes tecum, cum advenis, unum id sat est,
quod diu vivendo multa quae non volt videt.

Et multa fortasse quae volt, atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,
sentire ea aetate eumpse esse odiosum alteri.

26 Iucundum potius quam odiosum! Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur, nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid, ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici, quas quidem sic avide arripui quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socraten in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, discebant enim fidibus antiqui, sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

27 IX. Ne nunc quidem viris desidero adulescentis, is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, non plus quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti et quidquid agis agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse

contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? Qui cum iam senex
esset athletasque se exercentis in curriculo videret, aspexisse
lacertos suos dicitur illacrimansque dixisse, 'at hi quidem
mortui iam sunt'. Non vero tam isti, quam tu ipse, nugator,
neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et
lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante
Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus
praescribebantur, quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est
provecta prudentia. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute: 28
est enim munus eius non ingeni solum, sed laterum etiam et
virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam
nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non
amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen est decorus seni sermo
quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam
diserti senis composita et mitis oratio, quam si ipse exsequi
nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid
enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? An 29
ne illas quidem viris senectuti relinquimus, ut adulescentis
doceat, instituat, ad omne offici munus instruat? Quo
quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et
Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo L. Aemilius et P. Africanus comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec
ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis
consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio
virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectute;
libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus
tradit senectuti. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo ser- 30
mone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset,
negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem
factam quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini
puer, qui, cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex
maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio
praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut

adulescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de
me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique
31 nostrae conceditur. X. Videtisne, ut apud Homerum sae-
pissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim
aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera
praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax.
Etenim, ut ait Homerus, ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat
oratio; quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus.
Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Aiacis similis
habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris, quod si sibi acciderit, non
32 dubitat quin brevi sit Troia peritura. Sed redeo ad me.
Quartum ago annum et octogesimum: vellem equidem idem
posse gloriari quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non
me quidem eis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico
aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut
quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud
Thermopylas M'. Glabrione consule; sed tamen, ut vos
videtis, non plane me enervavit, non afflixit senectus: non
curia viris meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non cli-
entes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum assensus
veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet mature fieri
senem, si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu
senem esse mallem quam esse senem ante quam essem.
Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit cui fuerim occu-
33 patus. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne
vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis viris habetis: num idcirco
est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit et tan-
tum quantum potest quisque nitatur, ne ille non magno
desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus
esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem: utrum igitur
has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis viris ingeni dari? De-
nique isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras:
nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi

in + bacillus staff.

adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis
et una via naturae eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis
tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas
iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis ma-
turitas naturale quiddam habet, quod suo tempore percipi
debeat. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Ma- 34
sinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos: cum
ingressus iter pedibus sit, in ecum omnino non ascendere;
cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri,
nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in
eo corporis siccitatem, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et
munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in
senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires: ne postulantur quidem
vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas
nostra muneribus eis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri.
Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum
possumus quidem cogimur. At multi ita sunt imbecilli 35
senes, ut nullum offici aut omnino vitae munus exsequi
possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est,
sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani
filius, is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius vale-
tudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen
civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina
uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi
sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere
possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eius-
que vitia diligentia compensanda sunt, pugnandum tamquam
contra morbum sic contra senectutem, habenda ratio vale- 36
tudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et
potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur.
Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque
animo multo magis. Nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam

lumini oleum instilles, exstinguntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione ingravescunt, animi autem exercitando levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius comicos stultos senes, hos significat credulos obliviosos dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis ignavae somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio
37 appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes
38 habebant; vigebat in illo animus patrius et disciplina. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adulescentis probo, quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus; omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo; causarum illustrium, quascunque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes; ius augurium pontificium civile tracto; multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoriorumque more, exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim audierim egerim commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis; in his desudans atque elaborans corporis viris non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim

facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus: ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

XII. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam 39
carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis,
si quidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosis-
simum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem ora-
tionem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri,
quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q.
Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem
corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis
avidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur.
Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, 40
hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci; nullum
denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod susci-
piendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et
adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis illecebris
nisi voluptatis; cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus
nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono
nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem. Nec enim 41
libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino
in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo
magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum
aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima:
nemini censebat fore dubium quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet,
nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi
posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pesti-
ferum quam voluptatem, si quidem ea, cum maior esset at-
que longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret. Haec cum
C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius, a quo Caudino proelio Sp.
Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archy-
tam Nearchus Tarentinus hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi

Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio.

42 Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis ut ita dicam praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e senatu eicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim cum esset consul in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent, damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est, mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperi dedecus.

43 XIII. Saepe audivi e maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientis M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat: norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui cum ex sua vita tum ex eius quem dico Deci facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte expeteretur quodque spreta et contempta

44 voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur. Quorsum igitur tam

multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus, divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces, quamquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium M. F., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiae dabat gloria. Sed quid ego 45
alios? Ad me ipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper sodalis—sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis—epulabar igitur cum sodalibus, omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar; bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tem- 46
pestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus, non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus

carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a
maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo
adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis
est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut
sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis per-
sequi soleo conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod
ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone
47 producimus. At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in
senibus. Credo, sed ne desideratio quidem; nihil autem est
molestum quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo
quidam iam affecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus
veneriis, 'di meliora!' inquit; 'ego vero istinc sicut a domino
agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium
odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et ex-
pletis iucundius est carere quam frui; quamquam non caret
is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iu-
48 cundius. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur
libentius, primum parvolis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde
eis, quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino
caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima
cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima, sic adu-
lescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur,
sed delectatur etiam senectus, procul eas spectans, tantum
49 quantum sat est. At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam eme-
ritis stipendiis libidinis ambitionis, contentionum inimicitia-
rum, cupiditatum omnium secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vi-
vere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studi atque
doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Videbamus
in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae Gallum famili-
arem patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid
describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit cum mane
coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae
50 multo ante nobis praedicere! Quid in levioribus studiis,

sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat Bello suo Punico Naevius, quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui, cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontifici et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius P. Scipionis qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atque eos omnis, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantis senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte suadae medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae, quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

XV. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego 51
incredibiliter delector, quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore; quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio quae hoc efficit nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adolescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. Quid ego vitium ortus satus incrementa com- 52

memorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet; malleoli plantae sarmenta viviradices propagines nonne efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus quidquid est nacta complectitur, quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum,
53 ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundatur. Itaque ineunte vere in eis quae relicta sunt exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, dein maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores: qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum immissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecun-
54 dior? Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi. De qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laerten lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed

etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius.

XVI. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum 55
rusticarum, sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem, nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis; cuius quidem ego villam contemplans, abest enim non longe a me, admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus 56
Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, si quidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum, cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum appetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco haedo agno gallina, lacte caseo melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam

alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam
57 operis aucupium atque venatio. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam. Agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve
58 refrigerari salubrius? Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi venationes atque cursus; nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum ut lubebit, quoniam sine eis beata esse senectus potest.

59 XVII. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite quaeso studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum minorem Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam eius a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse 'atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum, intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque

gemmis, dixisse 'recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam
virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est!' Hac igitur fortuna frui 60
licet senibus, nec aetas impedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum
et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum
tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepi-
mus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam
aetate in agris eosque coleret, cuius inter primum et sextum
consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quan-
tum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse volu-
erunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema
aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat
plus, laboris minus; apex est autem senectutis auctoritas.
Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello, quanta in A. Atilio Cala- 61
tino! In quem illud elogium:

hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
populi primarium fuisse virum.

Notum est totum carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur
gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens.
Quem virum nuper P. Crassum pontificem maximum, quem
postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum vidimus!
Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar, aut, ut iam ante, de
Maximo? Quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in
nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata prae-
sertim, tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit quam omnes
adulescentiae voluptates. XVIII. Sed in omni oratione 62
mementote eam me senectutem laudare, quae fundamentis
adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id, quod ego
magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, miseram esse
senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae
repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta supe-
rior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. Haec enim 63
ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia,

salutari appeti decedi assurgi deduci reduci consuli, quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus, cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco considerant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem
64 sessum recepisse; quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam Atheniensis scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed eis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? Quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ei mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

65 At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur: contemni se putant, despici, illudi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est; quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vita tum in scaena intellegi potest ex eis fratribus qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis natura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo,

sed eam, sicut alia, modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo;
avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intellego. Potest 66
enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae minus restet,
eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque
sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, appropinquatio
mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O
miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam
longa aetate non viderit! Quae aut plane neglegenda est, si
omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum
deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil
inveniri potest. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post 67
mortem, aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis
est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se
ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo
pluris quam nostra casus mortis habet: facilius in morbos
incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur.
Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret,
melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et con-
silium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino
civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem.
Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum
adulescentia esse commune? Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu 68
in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio,
mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adulescens
diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insi-
pienter sperat; quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis
habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem
habet. At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens,
quoniam id quod ille sperat hic consecutus est: ille volt diu
vivere, hic diu vixit. Quamquam, o di boni, quid est in ho- 69
minis natura diu? Da enim supremum tempus, exspectemus
Tartessiorum regis aetatem: fuit enim, ut scriptum video,

Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnaverat
annos, centum viginti vixerat. Sed mihi ne diuturnum qui-
dem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum; cum
enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum
remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus es. Horae
quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum
tempus umquam revertitur nec quid sequatur sciri potest.
Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse
70 contentus. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda
fabula est, modo in quocunque fuerit actu probetur; neque
sapientibus usque ad 'plaudite' veniendum est, breve enim
tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque viven-
dum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est,
quam agricolae dolent praeterita verni temporis suavitate
aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adules-
centia significat ostenditque fructus futuros; reliqua autem
tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata
71 sunt. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante par-
torum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae
secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis; quid est
autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? Quod
idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante
natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum
aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic,
ut cum sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis
exstinguitur, et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix
evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescenti-
bus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam
iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi
terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navi-
72 gatione esse venturus. XX. Senectutis autem nullus est
certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus offici
exsequi et tueri possit mortemque contemnere, ex quo fit

ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior.
Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum
est, cum illi quaerenti qua tandem re fretus sibi tam auda-
citer obsisteret respondisse dicitur 'senectute'. Sed vivendi
est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus
ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut
navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit,
sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissol-
vit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile
divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae relicum nec avide
appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit; vetat- 73
que Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio
et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis est
elogium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum
et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis. Sed
haud scio an melius Ennius:

nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu
faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas con-
sequatur. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad 74
exiguom tempus, praesertim seni: post mortem quidem
sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab
adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus; sine qua
meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum
enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur
omnibus horis impendentem timens qui poterit animo con-
sistere? De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse 75
videtur, cum recordor non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria
est interfectus, non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem
cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad sup-
plicium est profectus ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non
duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere

voluerunt, non avom tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ei quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent?

76 Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa: num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae: num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam eius aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis: ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis affert.

77 XXI. Non enim video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio tuque, C. Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur, est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas.

78 Audiebam Pythagoran Pythagoriosque, incolas paene

nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati,
numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos
animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae
Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum dis-
seruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apolli-
nis iudicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio,
cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeterito-
rum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes tantae scientiae, tot
inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse
mortalem; cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium
motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habitu-
rum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et
cum simplex animi natura esset neque haberet in se quic-
quam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum
dividi, quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque
esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint,
quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res
innumerabilis arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere
videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

XXII. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior 79
haec dicit: 'nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a
vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum
eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in
hoc corpore ex eis rebus quas gerebam intellegebatis. Eun-
dem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. Nec 80
vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si
nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam
sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit
animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, cum ex-
cessissent ex eis emori; nec vero tum animum esse insipien-
tem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed cum omni
admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset,
tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura

morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuom est quo quaeque discedat, abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec cum adest nec cum discessit apparet. Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum.
81 Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt; ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane ex corporis vinclis relaxaverint. Qua re, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote', inquit, 'ut deum, sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis'.

82 XXIII. Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duos avos Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruom, aut multos praestantis viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad ipsos pertinere. Anne censes, ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam et quietam aetatem sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad immortalitatis gloriam
83 niteretur. Quid quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo, nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cuius obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros quos colui et dilexi,

videndi, neque vero eos solum convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi; quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quid facile retraxerit, nec tamquam Pelian recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem, nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. Quid habet enim vita com- 84
modi? Quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane; habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non libet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ei docti saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo; commorandi enim natura divorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. O praeclarum diem cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior, cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit ab illo meum, animus vero non me deserens sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquom inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

His mihi rebus, Scipio, id enim te cum Laelio admirari 85
solere dixisti, levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortalis esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum [philosophi] mortui irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen exstingui

homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura, ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam veniatis, ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis!

NOTES.

N. B. *The numbers in the left-hand margin denote the numbers of the lines on the pages of the text. Where a reference is given, in the body of a note, to the text, the first number refers to the small section; p. denotes page, l. line. In quoting from other parts of Cicero reference is always made to sections, not to chapters.*

§ 1. P. 29.

1 *O Tite etc.:* the lines are a quotation from the *Annales* of Q. Ennius (born at Rudiae in Calabria 239 B.C., died 169), an epic poem in hexameter verse (the first great Latin poem in that metre) celebrating the achievements of the Roman nation from the time of Aeneas to the poet's own days. The incident alluded to in Ennius' verses is evidently the same with that narrated by Livy 32, cc. 9, 10. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who commanded in 198 B.C. the Roman army opposed to Philip of Macedon, found the king strongly posted on the mountains between Epirus and Thessaly. For forty days Flamininus lingered hoping to find some path which would give him access to the enemy's quarters. A shepherd who knew every nook of the mountains came before the general and promised to lead the Roman soldiers to the ground above Philip's camp. This was done and Flamininus drove the Macedonians into Thessaly. It is the shepherd who here addresses Flamininus by his first name Titus. [The life of Flamininus by Plutarch is simply entitled Τίτος.] Cicero here cleverly applies the lines to his lifelong friend Titus Pomponius Atticus and he several times takes the two words '*O Tite*' to designate the whole treatise; cf. Att. 16, 11, 3 '*O Tite*' *tibi prodesse laetor.*

quid: accusative of respect or extent; so ***nihil*** in 30, p. 40, l. 1; *aliquid* in 82, l. 20; also 32, l. 12 *idem gloriari.*

adiŭero: for *adiūvero,* the long vowel having become short after the falling out of the *v* between the two vowels. Catullus 66, 18 has *iŭerint* at the end of a pentameter verse, and the same scansion is found in Plautus and Terence.

levasso: a form of *levavero,* which was originally *levaveso.* For the formation of this class of future-perfects see Peile, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology*, p. 295, ed. 2; also Roby, *Gram.* I, p. 199, who has a list of examples; he supports a different view from that given above.

2 *coquit:* 'vexes'. This metaphorical use of *coquere* occurs in poetry and late prose; cf. Plaut. Trin. 225 *egomet me coquo et macero et defetigo;* Verg. Aen. 7, 344 *quam...femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant;* Quint. 12, 10, 77 *sollicitudo oratorem macerat et coquit.*

versăt: we here have the original quantity of the vowel preserved (as in *ponebăt* below, 10, l. 8); the *a* in *versat* was originally as long as the *a* in *versās*. Plautus has some parallels to this scansion (see Corssen, Aussprache II^2, 488), but it is rarely imitated by poets of the best period. Horace, Odes 3, 16, 26, has *arăt* and Madvig may be right in taking *inrităt* and other similar forms in Lucretius as presents, though Munro makes them perfects (for *inritāvit etc.*).

3 *praemi:* the genitive in *ĭ-ī* from nouns in *ium* only began to come into use at the end of the Republic.

4 *isdem:* Cicero may have written *isdem* or *eisdem* (two syllables), but he probably did not write the form most commonly found in our texts, *iisdem.*

5 *Flamininum:* T. Quinctius Flaminīnus first served against Hannibal during the Second Punic War. He was present at the capture of Tarentum in 209 B.C., and in 208 was military tribune under Marcellus. After being employed on minor business of state, he became quaestor in 199 and immediately after his year of office consul, passing over the aedileship and praetorship, and attaining the consulship at the extraordinarily early age of 30. In 197 he won the great victory of Cynoscephalae over the Macedonians, which ended the war. At the Isthmian games in the spring of 196 Flamininus made his famous proclamation of freedom to all the Greeks. He returned to Rome in 194 to enjoy a splendid triumph. For the rest of his life he was employed chiefly on diplomatic business concerning Greece and the East. One of his embassies was to Prusias king of Bithynia, to call on him to surrender Hannibal who was living at his court in advanced old age; this led to Hannibal's suicide. Flamininus was censor in 189 (see below 42, l. 14) and lived on till some time after 167, in which year he became augur, but the date of his death is unknown. He was a man of brilliant ability both as general and as diplomat, and also possessed much culture and was a great admirer of Greek literature.

6 *ille vir etc.:* *i.e.* the shepherd mentioned in n. on line 1. Livy 32, 11, 4 says that Flamininus sent to the master of the shepherd, Charopus an Epirote prince, to ask how far he might be trusted. Charopus replied that Flamininus might trust him but had better keep a close watch on the operations himself. Plutarch simply says γνώστην καὶ βεβαιώτην ἑαυτοῦ παρεῖχε Χάρωπα.

haud magna cum re: 'of no great property'; *re=re familiari,* as is often elsewhere the case both in verse and prose. Cf. pro Caelio 78 *hominem sine re;* also below, 22, l. 9 and 10, p. 33, l. 7 *rem=rem publicam.* *Cum* is literally 'attended by'; it is almost superfluous here, since *vir haud magna re* would have had just the same meaning. So *cum* is often almost pleonastic in Lucretius, as in 1, 275 *ita perfurit acri cum fremitu ventus,* where see Munro's note. Madvig Gram. §§ 257,

258 has similar examples; see also Conington's note on Verg. Aen. 5, 368 *vastis cum viribus effert ora Dares.*

plenus: final *s* was so lightly pronounced that the older poets felt justified in neglecting it in their scansion. It was probably scarcely at all pronounced by the less educated Romans, since it is often wholly omitted in inscriptions and has been lost in modern Italian. Cicero Orator 161 says that the neglect to pronounce final *s* is 'somewhat boorish' (*subrusticum*), though formerly thought very refined (*politius*). Even Lucretius sometimes disregards it in his scansion. In the ordinary literary Latin a large number of words have lost an original *s*; *e.g.* all the nouns of the *-a* declension. Cf. 14, l. 18 *confectus.*

fidēi: this form of the genitive of *fides* is found also in Plautus, Aularia 575 and Lucretius 5, 102. *Fidĕi* as genitive seems only to occur in late poets, but as dative it is found in a fragment of Ennius. *Fidē* as genitive occurs in Horace and Ovid.

8 *sollicitari etc.:* Cicero probably has not quoted the line as Ennius wrote it. The word *sic* at least is evidently inserted on purpose to correspond with *ut* before *Flamininum.*

noctesque diesque: the use of *que...que* for *et...et* is almost entirely poetical, Sallust being the only prose writer of the best period in whose works the usage is beyond doubt. Madvig still keeps *noctesque diesque* with the MSS in Fin. 1, 51 *sollicitudines quibus eorum animi noctesque diesque exeduntur*, but condemns the reading in his note. *Noctes* is put before *dies* here and in Cic. as above, also in *noctes diesque* (Verr. 5, 112); *noctes et dies* (Brut. 308 *etc.*); *noctes ac dies* (Arch. 29); cf. also νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ in Odyssey 2, 345, Iliad 5, 490; Verg. Aen. 6, 127 *noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;* but the collocations *dies noctesque, dies et noctes* are far commoner in Cicero; cf. also below, 82, l. 20 *labores diurnos nocturnosque.*

[EXCURSUS. Madvig, Emend. Liv. p. 487 n. (ed. 2), says that in writers of Livy's time and earlier, when an action is mentioned which continues throughout a number of days and nights, either *dies et noctes* and the like phrases are used or *die et nocte* and the like but not *diem noctemque* or *diem et noctem*, which expression, he says, would imply that the action continued only throughout *one* day and *one* night. Madvig refers to two passages of Cicero in which he says the reading is corrupt: viz. Leg. agr. 2, 68 *qui paulo ante diem noctemque tribunicium nomen horrebant* (where Zumpt wrongly says that only in this one place do good MSS give *diem noctemque*); also Div. 2, 59 *quasi vero quicquam intersit mures diem noctem aliquid rodentes scuta an cribra corroserint.* In the latter passage recent editors still retain *diem noctem.* But Madvig has overlooked De Or. 2, 162 *eandem incudem diem noctemque tundentibus;* also three passages of Caesar: viz. Bell. Gall. 7, 42, 6 and 7, 77, 11; Bell. Civ. 1, 62, 1; to which add a passage in the Bell. Hisp. 38. Though *diem noctemque* does often mean 'throughout *one* day and *one* night' (as *e.g.* in Nep. Them. 8, 7) yet it would seem that the other sense cannot be excluded, and very likely the MSS readings should be

retained in some of the passages of Livy which Madvig, in the note above quoted, has judged to be corrupt.]

9 *moderationem...aequitatem:* 'the self-control and even balance of your mind'. *Moderatio* is in Cic. a common translation of σωφροσύνη. *Aequitas* is not here used in its commonest sense of 'reasonableness' or 'equity', but as the noun corresponding to *aecus* in the ordinary phrase *aecus animus* (Horace, '*aecum memento rebus in arduis servare mentem*'); cf. Tusc. 1, 97 *hanc maximi animi aequitatem in ipsa morte*, of Socrates' undisturbed composure just before his execution.

animi tui: for the position of these words between *moderationem* and *aequitatem*, to both of which nouns they refer (a form of speech called by the Latin grammarians *coniunctio*) see my note on Laelius 8, l. 22 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi;* also cf. below, 45, l. 20 *coetu amicorum et sermonibus;* 65, l. 29 *et moribus bonis et artibus;* also the passages quoted in n. on 16, l. 9.

10 *cognomen: i.e.* the name *Atticus*, which Cicero's friend did not inherit, but adopted. For the word *cognomen* cf. n. on 5, l. 5 below.

deportasse: it should be noted that the verb *deportare* is nearly always in the best writers used of bringing things from the provinces to Italy or Rome, and not *vice versa*, the Romans using 'down' of motion towards the capital where we use 'up'. *Italia deportare* occurs in Tacitus and late writers, but only in the sense of banishing a person (cf. Ann. 14, 45). So *decedere de provincia* is common, but not *Roma decedere*. For the simple ablative *Athenis* see Roby, Gram. § 1258. As to the form *deportasse*, it may be remarked that Cic. in the vast majority of instances uses the contracted and not the full forms of the infinitives corresponding to perfects in *-avi*. So *putassent* in 4, l. 30. [A full and useful collection of examples of this and similar contractions will be found in Frohwein, Die Perfectbildungen auf -vi bei Cicero; Gera 1874.]

humanitatem: 'culture'; *i.e.* learning resulting in gentleness and refinement of character.

11 *prudentiam:* φρόνησιν or practical wisdom. Corn. Nepos (or his imitator) in his life of Atticus 17, 3 says of him *principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta ut his ad vitam agendam non ad ostentationem uteretur.*

isdem rebus: i.e. the state of public affairs at the time; cf. Introd. p. 10.

12 *quibus me ipsum:* strictly speaking the construction is incorrect, since *suspicor commoveri* must be supplied, and Cicero does not really mean to say that he merely *conjectures* himself to be seriously affected by the state of public affairs; *ego ipse commoveor* would have accurately expressed his meaning. The accusative is due to the attraction of *te* above. See an excellent note of Madvig on Fin. 2, 88, who quotes and examines a number of similar attractions. A remarkable example not quoted by Madvig is in Tusc. 5, 63 *poetam tragicum, quam bonum, nihil ad rem* (for *quam bonus sit*). Cf. also n. on 26, l. 15.

13 *maior=difficilior* as often; *e.g.* Lael. 29 *quod maius est.*

14 *visum est mihi conscribere:=placuit mihi*, 'I have determined to write'. The best writers rarely use the impersonal *videtur etc.* followed by an infinitive. When the usage occurs *videtur mihi etc.* generally have the meaning (as here) of δοκεῖ μοι κ.τ.λ.='I have made up my mind'. Cf. Att. 4, 2, 3 *cum pontifices decressent...videri posse eam partem areae M. Tullio restitui;* Tusc. 5, 12 *non mihi videtur ad beate vivendum satis posse virtutem;* ib. 5, 22 (a curious passage) *mihi enim non videbatur quisquam esse beatus posse cum esset in malis; in malis autem sapientem esse posse;* Orat. 67 *video visum esse non nullis Platonis locutionem...poema potius putandum;* Off. 3, 71 *malitia quae volt illa quidem videri se esse prudentiam* ('craft which desires that people should believe it to be wisdom'); Liv. 1, 10, 7 *dis visum nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse...* ('the gods decided that the word of the founder of the shrine should not remain of no effect'). It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a passage in a writer before silver Latin times where the best texts still exhibit anything like *videtur eum facere* for *is videtur facere.*

aliquid ad te: 'some work dedicated to you'; so below, 3, l. 7; also cf. Lael. 4 *ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid;* ib. *Catone maiore qui est scriptus ad te de senectute;* Div. 2, 3 *liber is quem ad Atticum de senectute misimus;* Fin. 1, 8 *libro quem ad me de virtute misisti;* Att. 8, 12, 6 *Demetri Magnetis librum quem ad te misit de concordia.*

§ 2.

15 *aut...aut certe:* so often in Cic., as Phil. 2, 41 *aut numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat.*

16 *senectutis:* at the time the words were written Cic. was 62 years old, Atticus three years older. For the meaning of *senectus* see n. on 4, l. 32.

17 *levari volo:* the best Latin writers frequently use the passive infinitive after verbs expressing desire, where moderns would incline to the active; here Cic. instead of saying 'I wish to relieve yourself and me of the burden' says 'I wish yourself and me to be relieved'. Editors and the writers of MSS have often in such passages wrongly changed the passive into the active; (see Madvig, Em. Liv. p. 44 n., ed. 2). So here one of Halm's MSS has *levare.* In 85, l. 30 *extorqueri volo* the sense absolutely requires the passive. Cic. sometimes uses another construction with *volo;* cf. Qu. fr. 3, 9, 3 *cura te levatum volo.*

etsi:=καίτοι 'and yet'. This use of *etsi* to introduce a clause correcting the preceding clause, though not uncommon (*e.g.* below, 29, l. 24; Tusc. 1, 99; 2, 32; 3, 17; 4, 63; 5, 38; 5, 55; 5, 58), is far less common than that of *quamquam* which we have in 1, l. 7; 9, l. 22; 10, l. 29; 24, l. 26; 47, l. 15; 67, l. 13; 69, l. 31.

te quidem: 'you at all events', 'you for one'; cf. p. 30, l. 1 n.

modice ac sapienter: modice recalls *moderationem* above (*modice* and *moderate* are used with exactly the same sense by Cic.), while *sapienter*

recalls *aequitatem*, since *sapientia* produces stability and an even balance of the mind. In De Or. 1, 132 we have *modice et scienter*.

sicut omnia: cf. Fin. 1, 7 *facete is quidem sicut alia;* also below, 65, p. 53, l. 1 *sicut alia*.

18 *et ferre et laturum esse:* Tischer rightly remarks that when a verb is repeated thus with a variation of tense Cic. very nearly always uses *et...et*, and not a single *et* merely. The contrast between the two tenses is thus made more pointed. Cf. 3, l. 6 *et diximus et dicemus*.

certo scio: one of the best MSS, followed by some editors, has here *certe scio*. The latter phrase would mean 'I am sure that I know' (a sense which seems out of place here); the former 'I have certain or sure knowledge'. Observe that *certe* may be used with all verbs, while *certo* is only used with *scire*.

sed: the idea implied is 'but though I well know you do not *need* such consolation, I have yet resolved to address my book to you'.

19 *vellem aliquid:* Madvig and Tischer write against all the best MSS (for what reason it is impossible to discover) *aliquid vellem* instead of *vellem aliquid*. We thus have produced something to which I venture to say no real parallel can be found in Cicero's writings, viz. an iambic line, perfect enough for Latin ideas of iambic scansion, and lying between two stops. Cicero himself strongly condemned such verse-making in prose; see Orator 190 sq.; De Or. 3, 182 sq. In Acad. 1, 30 Halm chooses to read, with one MS, *mentem volebant esse rerum iudicem* where all the other MSS have *rerum esse*. [Sometimes we find hexameter endings as in 14, l. 20 *probe meminisse potestis*, and Acad. 2, 117 *e quibus omnia constant*.] Cf. n. on 47, l. 15.

occurrebas dignus: a condensed construction for *occurrebat te dignum esse*.

P. 30.

1 *munere...uteretur:* 'a gift such as we might both make use of in company'.

mihi quidem: this forms a correction upon *uterque nostrum* above: 'whatever you may think of the work *I at least* have found the writing of it pleasant'. Cf. above, p. 29, l. 17 n.

2 *confectio:* 'composition'; 'completion'; a word scarcely found in the classical Latin except in Cicero's writings. Cf. De Or. 2, 52 *erat historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio;* pro Font. 3 *confectio tabularum* ('account-books').

fuit ut absterserit: the sequence of tenses *fuit ut abstergeret* would have been equally admissible, but the meaning would have been slightly different. With the perfect the sense is 'was so pleasant that it *has* wiped away'; with the imperfect 'was so pleasant that it *did* (while I was writing) wipe away'. The distinction between the tenses is clearly seen in the following passage from Caesar, B.G. 7, 17, 3 *usque eo ut compluris dies frumento milites caruerint et extremam famem sustentarent* (where some edd. wrongly read *sustentarint*). The metaphor in

absterserit is common: *e.g.* Tusc. 3, 43 *luctum omnem absterseris.* With this statement of Cicero's concerning the effect the work had on himself contrast Att. 14, 21, 3 *legendus mihi saepius est Cato maior ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia.*

3 *effecerit mollem:* so 56, l. 15 *poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem;* but 56, p. 50, l. 1 *conditiora facit haec aucupium. Efficio* gives more emphatically than *facio* the idea of the completion of the action. Cf. Lael. 73 *efficere aliquem consulem,* 'to carry through a man's election as consul'; *facere aliquem consulem* being merely 'to vote for a man's election to the consulship'.

5 *satis digne:* 'as she deserves', lit. 'in a sufficiently worthy manner'. Some editors have thought *digne* superfluous, and wished to cast it out, but we have *satis digne* elsewhere, as in Verr. 1, 1, 82 and post. red. in Sen. 19; cf. also Sex. Rosc. 33 *pro dignitate laudare satis commode.*

cui qui pareat: the editors all (so far as I have seen) account for the subjunctive by saying that this part of the sentence gives the *reason* for what precedes ('it will never be possible to praise philosophy as she deserves, seeing that he who obeys her etc.'). I cannot accept this explanation, because it will not apply to many passages which exactly correspond with this. *Cui* is, I think, simply connective = *et ei* and *pareat* is in the subjunctive because of *possit,* the whole from *qui* to *degere* being really a conditional sentence of irregular form. Just in the same way in Tusc. 5, 118 *quae qui recordetur haud sane periculum est ne non mortem aut optandam aut certe non timendam putet* (where *quae* is merely connective = *et ea*), Cic. wrote *qui recordetur* not *recordatur* because of the very indirect form of the statement which follows. Had that statement been put directly, thus, *mortem sane aut optandam aut certe non timendam putabit,* the indicative *recordatur* would certainly have been written. Very similar are the circumstances in the following passage: Div. 1, 127 *qui enim teneat causas rerum futurarum, idem necesse est omnia teneat quae futura sint.* But Cicero often allows the relative clause to remain quite unaffected by the form which the following clause takes. With the passages already given compare the two following, viz. Fin. 2, 86 *qui autem diffidit perpetuitati bonorum suorum timeat necesse est ne aliquando, amissis illis sit miser;* N.D. 2, 93 *hoc qui existimat fieri potuisse, non intellego cur non idem putet etc.* When the best MSS vary between the subjunctive and the indicative in the relative clause (as in N.D. 2, 5) it is often difficult, having regard to the known variations in Cicero's usage, to decide between the readings. [See Madvig on Fin. 2, 86.]

omne tempus aetatis: 'every season of life'; so in 55, p. 49, l. 9 *extremum tempus aetatis;* 30, p. 39, l. 33; 70, l. 11 *breve tempus aetatis.* The opposite phrase *aetas temporis* is very rare; it occurs in Propertius 1, 4, 7.

§ 3.

6 *ceteris:* beware of supplying *aetatibus,* an error into which some editors have fallen. *Ceteris* is the neuter adjective used as a noun, for *ceteris rebus* 'the other matters'; *i.e.* the political troubles hinted at

above. The best writers generally do not use the neuter adjective as noun in the *oblique* cases unless there is something in the context to shew clearly the gender, as in 24, ll. 26 and 28 *aliis...eis quae;* we have however below in 8, l. 11 *isto=ista re;* 72, p. 55, l. 10 *relicum;* 77, l. 29 *caelestium=rerum caelestium*, and in 78, p. 57, l. 7 *praeteritorum futurorumque;* see other instances in my n. on Lael. 50. (In 4, l. 19, and 80, p. 58, l. 1 *ceterarum rerum.*) The *proleptic* or *anticipatory* use of *ceteris* should also be noticed; its sense is not fully seen till we come to *hunc librum;* the same use occurs below, in 4, l. 19; 5, l. 7; 59, l. 22; 60, l. 3; so *aliis* in 24, l. 26; cf. also my n. on Lael. 7 *reliqua.*

diximus...dicemus: when a clause or phrase consists of four parts, which go in pairs (as here *diximus*, *dicemus* on one side and *multa*, *saepe* on the other), the Latins frequently arrange the words so as to put one pair between the two members of the other pair, as here. This usage is called by grammarians *chiasmus.* Thus if we denote the four parts by *AA'*, *BB'*, *chiasmus* requires the order *ABB'A'* or *BAA'B'*. See examples in 8, l. 16; 15, p. 35, l. 7; 20, l. 21; 21, p. 37, l. 1; 22, l. 5; 38, l. 19; 44, p. 45, l. 1; 44, p. 45, l. 5; 71, l. 28. [For the more complicated forms of chiasmus see Nägelsbach Stil. §§ 167, 169.]

7 *librum...misimus:* see the passages quoted above in n. on 1, l. 14 *aliquid ad te.* Observe the omission of a particle at the beginning of the clause; the contrast between *ceteris* and *hunc librum* is made stronger by the omission. For this *asyndeton adversativum* see my n. on Lael. 5; also below, 17, l. 23; 36, l. 31; 80, l. 29.

8 *omnem sermonem...Catoni:* so Lael. 62 *Scipio cuius omnis sermo erat de amicitia. Tribuimus* is perfect, like *misimus.* For *omnem* see n. on 62, l. 25.

Tithono...Aristo: see Introd. p. 12 n.

9 *Cius:* Greek Κεῖος (a native of Ceos), not to be confused with Χῖος (a native of Chios), or Κῷος (a native of Cos). Cicero generally denotes the Greek diphthong ει by *ī* not *ē*. This Aristo was a Peripatetic.

parum...auctoritatis: observe how often Cicero takes trouble to separate words which are, grammatically, closely connected. So above, l. 3 *omnis...molestias;* also 7, l. 29 *essent...editi;* 7, l. 32 *multorum... senectutem;* 9, l. 20 *mirificos...fructus;* 21, l. 25 *civium...nomina;* 31, l. 8 *nullis...viribus;* 33, l. 25 *minus...virium;* 53, l. 24 *multo...fecundior; etc. etc.* See also n. on 15, l. 32 *quam sit iusta*, and cf. n. on l. 16 below.

10 *maiorem auctoritatem:* cf. Lael. 4 *genus hoc sermonum positum in veterum hominum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis.*

11 *apud quem:* 'at whose house'; so 55, l. 10 *a me*, 'from my house'.

Laelium...Scipionem: see Introd. pp. 24, 25.

facimus admirantis: 'we represent as expressing astonishment'. For *facere*, in this sense, Cic. more often uses *inducere* 'to bring on the stage', as in Lael. 4 *Catonem induxi senem disputantem.* Cf. however

54, l. 28 *Homerus Laerten colentem agrum facit;* also Brut. 218; Orat. 85. Instead of *facimus* we might have expected either *fecimus* to correspond with *misimus* and *tribuimus* above, or *faciemus* to correspond with *videbitur* below.

12 *is...eis...eum:* Cic. generally takes pains to vary the pronouns and might have been expected to write *ille...illum* here; cf. n. on *ille... hic* in 60, l. 10.

13 *eruditius disputare:* Cic. not unfrequently in his dialogues made people talk with more learning than they really possessed. He several times confesses this as regards Lucullus and Catulus in the Academica, and as regards Antonius in the De Oratore.

14 *suis libris etc.:* for the allusions here to Cato's life, works and opinions see the Introduction pp. 13 sq.

attribuito: this form of the imperative (cf. *creditote* in 79, l. 25; *colitote* in 81, l. 9) is commonly but wrongly styled future by grammarians. It is impossible to draw any distinction in meaning or use between this form and the other (except that this was a little more old-fashioned).

15 *quid opus est plura? Sc. dicere;* cf. the elliptic phrases *quid multa? sc. dicam* in 78, l. 6; also *ne multa etc.;* also below, 10, p. 33, l. 6 *praeclare;* 13, p. 33, l. 32 *quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo;* 25, p. 38, l. 1 *melius, sc. dixit;* 25, p. 38, l. 7; 27, p. 39, l. 6; 42, l. 4; 44, p. 44, l. 33; 45, l. 13 *sed quid ego alios?* 47, l. 10; 73, l. 16; 78, l. 6. Further examples of the omission of *dicere* and verbs of like meaning will be found in my n. on Lael. 1.

16 *nostram...sententiam:* for the arrangement of the words compare 75, p. 56, l. 2 *collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem;* 80, l. 26 *clarorum virorum post mortem honores;* also n. on l. 9 above.

§ 4.

18 *saepe numero soleo:* 'it is my frequent custom'. *Numero* is literally 'by the count or reckoning' and in the phrase *saepe numero* had originally the same force as in *quadraginta numero* and the like, but the phrase came to be used merely as a slight strengthening of *saepe.*

cum hoc...cum ceterarum: the use of *cum* in different senses in the same clause, which seems awkward, is not uncommon; see my n. on pro Balbo 1; and cf. below, 67, l. 22. [The spelling *quum* was certainly not used by Cicero and probably by no other of the Latin writers of the best period; it is high time that the spelling disappeared from classical texts. It is worth remarking that *cum* the conjunction and *cum* the preposition, though spelt alike, are by origin quite distinct.]

19 *ceterarum:* see n. on 3, l. 6.

rerum...sapientiam: 'wisdom *in* affairs'; the objective genitive, for which see Roby, Gram. § 1312 sq.

excellentem: in sense much stronger than our 'excellent'; *excellentem perfectamque* 'preeminent and indeed faultless'.

20 *quod...senserim:* this clause takes the place of an object to *admirari.* The subjunctive *senserim* is used because the speaker *reports his own reason* for the wonder (felt in bygone time) in the form of a clause introduced by *quod.* Cf. Horace, Ep. 1, 10, 49 *haec tibi dictabam fanum post putre Vacunae, excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus;* cf. also Roby, § 1744. The subjunctive here therefore is of the same kind as that in 7, l. 27 *carerent;* 15, l. 29 *avocet; etc.*

22 *odiosa:* this word is not so strong as our 'hateful', but rather means 'wearisome', 'annoying'. In Plautus the frequent expression *odiosus es* means (in colloquial English) 'you *bore* me'. Cf. 25, p. 38, l. 10; 47, l. 14 *odiosum et molestum;* 65, l. 28 *odiosa offensio.*

onus Aetna gravius: a proverbial expression, with an allusion to the legends of the Titans supposed to have combated Jove, and to have been imprisoned by him beneath Etna, so that their movements produced the earthquakes and their breathings the volcanic fires. See below, 5, l. 13. Cf. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 637 ἁ νεότας μοι φίλον· ἄχθος δὲ τὸ γῆρας αἰεὶ βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων ἐπὶ κρατὶ κεῖται.

23 *haud sane difficilem:* 'surely far from difficult'; cf. 83, p. 59, l. 3 *haud sane facile.*

Scipio et Laeli: so in Lael. 40 *Fanni et Scaevola;* also below, 9, l. 18; 35, l. 27; 77, l. 20.

24 *quibus:* carefully avoid taking *quibus* (as Meissner does) along with *in ipsis,* as though it were in the ablative. It is really a *dativus commodi* (so-called), literally 'those for whom there is no aid in themselves'. Cf. Lael. 79 *digni autem sunt amicitia quibus in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur.*

bene beateque vivendum: 'a virtuous and happy life'; 'virtue and happiness'; so *bene honesteque* below, 70, l. 12.

25 *qui...petunt:* these are the αὐτάρκεις, men sufficient for themselves, '*in se toti teretes atque rotundi*'. We have here a reminiscence of the Stoic doctrine about the wise man, whose happiness is quite independent of everything outside himself, and is caused solely by his own virtue. Cicero represents the same Stoic theory in Lael. 7 *hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant ut omnia tua in te esse posita ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes.*

26 *a se ipsi:* 'themselves from themselves', so in 78, p. 57, ll. 11, 12 *se ipse moveat...se ipse relicturus sit;* 84, l. 23 *me ipse consolabar.* Expressions like *a se ipsis* are quite uncommon in Cicero. Cf. my n. on Lael. 5 *te ipse cognosces* (also see below, 38, l. 16 *se ipsa;* 78, l. 11 *se ipse*).

27 *naturae necessitas:* 'the inevitable conditions of nature'. Cf. 71 l. 20 *quid est tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori?*

afferat: subjunctive because *nihil quod = nihil tale ut.*

quo in genere: sc. rerum; with this phrase the defining genitive is commonly omitted by Cicero. So below, 45, l. 24 *in eo genere.*

28 *ut adipiscantur...optant...accusant adeptam:* observe the chiasmus, for which see n. on 3, l. 6. In illustration of the sense of the passage the editors quote a fragment of the comic writer Crates, preserved by Stobaeus, *ὠνείδισάς μοι γῆρας, ὡς κακὸν μέγα, οὗ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦμεν, ἂν δ' ἔλθῃ ποτε, ἀνιώμεθ'· οὕτως ἐσμὲν ἀχάριστοι φύσει.* Stobaeus also quotes from Menecrates, *γῆρας, ἐπὰν μὲν ἀπῇ, πᾶς εὔχεται· ἢν δέ ποτ' ἔλθῃ, Μέμφεται· ἐστὶ δ' ἀεὶ κρεῖσσον ὀφειλόμενον.* Meissner also excellently quotes Goethe: Das Alter ist ein höflich Mann, Ein mal über's andre klopft er an, Aber nun sagt Niemand herein, Und vor der Thüre will er nicht sein, Da klinkt er auf, tritt ein so schnell, Und nun heisst's er sei ein grober Gesell.

eandem: idem is used in the same way, to mark an emphatic contrast, in 24, l. 27; 52, p. 48, l. 9; 68, l. 26; 71, l. 21.

adeptam: this is probably the only example in Cicero of the passive use of *adeptus*, which occurs in Sallust, Ovid, Tacitus, *etc.*, and in this passage the use cannot be looked on as certain since one of the very best and several of the inferior MSS read *adepti*. Cicero however uses a good many deponent participles in a passive sense (cf. below, 59, l. 29 *dimensa;* 74, l. 22 *meditatum;* see also the list in Roby, Gram. § 734), and some of them occur very rarely. Thus *periclitatus*, *arbitratus*, *depastus* as passives are only found each in one passage.

29 *inconstantia:* 'instability', 'inconsistency'. *Constantia*, unwavering firmness and consistency, is the characteristic of the wise man; cf. Acad. 2, 23 *sapientia...quae ex sese habeat constantiam;* also Lael. 8 and 64.

30 *obrepere:* so 38, p. 43, l. 2.

aiunt: sc. stulti.

putassent: the subjunctive is due to the oblique narration. Where we say 'I should not have thought' the Latins say '*non putaram*' (in direct narration), *i.e.* 'I never had thought' (so Off. 1, 81 and often in Cicero's letters). Here translate 'more quickly than they had ever expected'. Cf. Att. 6, 1, 6 *accipiam equidem dolorem mihi illum irasci sed multo maiorem non esse eum talem qualem putassem.*

31 *primum:* 'I ask in the first place'.

falsum putare: 'to form a mistaken judgment'. For *falsum* as noun $=$ ψεῦδος cf. 6, l. 14 *gratissimum;* also n. on 3, l. 6.

qui citius: lit. 'in what way quicker'; cf. Tusc. 5, 89 *qui melius.*

32 *adulescentia ... senectus ... pueritia:* boyhood was generally at Rome supposed to last till the 17th year (the time for assuming the *toga virilis* and for beginning military service). *Iuventus* is usually the age from 17 to 45, during which men were liable to be called on for active service. Ordinarily, in colloquial language, *adulescentia* is the earlier portion of *iuventus*, say the years from 17 to 30 (cf. 33, l. 33), but Cicero seems here to make *adulescentia* co-extensive with *iuventus*. From 45 to 60 is the *aetas seniorum*, the period during which citizens in early Rome might be called out for the defence of the city, but not for

active service. *Senectus* was commonly reckoned as beginning at 60; but in § 60 Cicero includes in *senectus* the *aetas seniorum*, and probably intended to include it here. In Tusc. 1, 34 Cic. reckons three ages *pueritia adulescentia senectus* as here; below in 74, four periods (or five).

P. 31.

2 *quamvis*: = *quantumvis*.

effluxisset: the editors (so far as I have seen) account for the subjunctive by the influence of *posset* in the next clause. This view seems mistaken: looking forward one would say *futura aetas cum effluxerit*, looking backward *praeterita aetas cum effluxisset* whether the succeeding clause contained a subjunctive or not. Even with a succeeding indicative clause *cum effluxerat* would rarely be found. It may be said that *posset* is an effectual bar to the rare indicative use; but it cannot be said to be the *cause* of the subjunctive *effluxisset*. The passage in 82, l. 26 *cum excessisset* is precisely similar.

§ 5.

3 *si...soletis...sumus*: the apodosis and protasis do not strictly correspond; the sense really required is 'if that wisdom for which you admire me does exist, it lies in this, *etc.*'

4 *utinam...esset*: *esset* here gives a greater show of modesty than would have been given by *sit*: 'would it were, as it certainly is not'.

5 *cognomine*: Cato bore the title *sapiens* even in his lifetime; see Introd. p. 22. *Cognomen* is used in good Latin to denote both the family name and the acquired by-name; in late Latin this latter is denoted by *agnomen*.

in hoc sapiens: but above, 4 l. 19 *rerum sapientiam* not *in rebus*. The genitive construction is not found with *sapiens* used as noun or adjective till late Latin times.

6 *naturam ducem etc.*: Cato's claim to the title of *sapiens* does not rest on any deep knowledge of philosophy, but on practical wisdom or motherwit and experience of affairs. Cf. Lael. 6 *Cato* (*sc. cognomen habebat sapientis*) *quia multarum rerum usum habebat*, also ib. 19 *hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia secuntur naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem*. In our passage Cicero has put into Cato's mouth phrases borrowed from the Stoic philosophy, which declared the life of virtue to be life in accordance with nature (*naturae convenienter vivere* or ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν). Cf. 71, l. 20 n.

tamquam deum: observe *deum* not *deam*, because nature is compared with, and not identified with a divine being. Cf. Fin. 5, 43 *eam* (*rationem*) *quasi deum ducem subsequens*. Lahmeyer quotes Sall. Iug. 64, 5 *cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus*, where Sallust might have used *consultricibus*.

7 *ceterae:* cf. n. on 3, l. 6.

8 *aetatis:* here=*vitae*, life as a whole. Cf. 2, p. 30, l. 5; also 13, p. 34, l. 5; 33, p. 41, l. 1; 64, l. 21; 82, l. 23; also passages quoted in n. on 2, p. 30, l. 5; 33, p. 41, l. 1.

descriptae: 'composed'; literally 'written out'. The reading *discriptae*, which many editions give, does not so well suit the passage. *Discribere* is to map out, plan, arrange, put in order (see 59, l. 29 *discripta* and l. 31 *discriptio*); the point here lies, however, not in the due arrangement of the different scenes of a play, but in the careful working out of each scene. *Ab ea* must be supplied after *descriptae* from *a qua* above.

actum: the common comparison of life with a drama is also found in §§ 64, 70, 85.

9 *inerti:* the sense of 'ignorant', 'inartistic' has been given to this by some editors (cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 126 *praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri*, and Cic. Fin. 2, 115 *artes, quibus qui carebant, inertes a maioribus nominabantur*), but the meaning 'inactive', 'lazy', 'slovenly' seems to suit *neglectum* better.

poeta: nature here is the dramatist, the drama is life, the actors are human beings.

sed tamen etc.: 'but for all that it was inevitable that there should be something with the nature of an end'. So 69, p. 54, l. 3 *in quo est aliquid extremum;* 43, l. 31 *aliquid pulchrum.*

10 *arborum bacis:* the word *băca* (the spelling *bacca* has little or no authority) is applied to all fruits growing on bushes or trees; cf. Tusc. 1, 31 *arbores seret diligens agricola, quarum aspiciet bacam ipse numquam.*

terraeque fructibus: here=cereals and roots and vegetables and small fruits. No sharp distinction can be drawn between *fruges* and *fructus* (*e.g.* in Div. 1, 116 we have *fruges terrae bacasve arborum*), though *fructus* as commonly used is the more general word of the two.

11 *maturitate...caducum:* 'a time of senility, so to speak, and readiness to drop, that comes of a seasonable ripeness'. *Vietus* is literally 'twisted' or 'bent', being originally the passive participle of *viere.* The comparison of old age with the ripeness of fruit recurs in § 71. With *tempestiva maturitate* cf. § 33 *tempestivitas...maturitas;* 71, l. 28; also Plin. Ep. 5, 14, 5 *non tam aetatis maturitate quam vitae.*

12 *ferundum:* the form in *-undus* is archaic, and generally used by Cic. in quoting or imitating passages of laws, sacred formulae, and the like. MSS however often give it where no such reason for it appears.

molliter: here 'gently', 'with resignation'; though *molliter ferre* often has another meaning, viz. to bear pain or trouble in an *unmanly* fashion. Cf. *facillime ferre* below, l. 17.

quid est aliud etc.: we have here one of those rationalistic explanations of myths which the Greeks had begun to teach to the Romans

during Cato's lifetime. Trans. 'what else but resistance to nature is equivalent to warring against the gods', and *not* 'what else does warring with the gods mean but to resist nature'. In comparisons of this sort the Latins generally put the things compared in a different order from that required by English idiom. Thus in Div. 2, 78 *quid est aliud nolle moneri a Iove nisi efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspicium aut, si possit, videri*; S. Rosc. 54 *quid est aliud iudicio ac legibus ac maiestate vestra abuti ad quaestum ac libidinem, nisi hoc modo accusare;* Phil. 1, 22; 2, 7; 5, 5; 10, 5.

13 *gigantum modo:* see n. on 4, l. 22 *Aetna gravius.*

dis: above, cf. l. 6 *naturam tamquam deum;* and for the form *dis* see n. on 25, l. 31.

§ 6.

14 *atqui:* in the best Latin *atqui* does not introduce a statement *contradicting* the preceding statement, but one that *supplements* it. Here it may be translated 'True, but'. Cf. 66, l. 11; 81, l. 5.

gratissimum:=rem gratissimam, as in 4, l. 31 *falsum=rem falsam;* cf. also n. on 3, l. 6. With the whole sentence cf. Rep. 1, 34 *gratum feceris si explicaris;* Lael. 16 *pergratum feceris si disputaris.*

ut...pollicear: so Acad. 1, 33 *nos vero volumus, ut pro Attico respondeam;* Brut. 122 *nobis vero placet, ut pro Bruto etiam respondeam;* Lael. 32 *tu vero perge; pro hoc enim respondeo.* See also n. on 52, p. 48, l. 1.

16 *senes fieri:* if the infinitive had depended on *speramus* alone, and *volumus* had not intervened, Cicero would probably have written *nos futuros esse senes.*

multo ante: sc. quam id factum erit: so Balb. 41 *re denique multo ante* (*sc. quam factum est*) *audita*, and very often in Cicero; cf. 18, l. 32; 49, l. 33.

didicerimus: as this corresponds with *feceris*, it would have been formally correct to write here *nos docueris.*

quibus...possimus: 'what considerations will enable us most easily to support the growing burden of age'.

19 *futurum est*=μέλλει εἶναι: this form of the future is used in preference to the simple *erit* because it is desired to represent the event as *on the very point of fulfilment*, and therefore sure of fulfilment. *Erit* would have implied much less certainty. Trans. 'I will do so, if my action *is going to give* you pleasure'. Cf. 67, l. 13 *beatus futurus sum;* also 81, l. 9; 85, l. 33.

20 *nisi molestum est:* a common expression of courtesy, like *nisi alienum putas, si placet* (15, p. 34, l. 32), *si videtur, si grave non est* (Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 4).

tamquam longam viam: Cicero here puts into Laelius' mouth almost the very words addressed by Socrates to the aged Cephalus in the intro

duction to Plato's Republic 328 E *δοκεῖ γάρ μοι χρῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν (γερόντων) πυνθάνεσθαι, ὥσπερ τινὰ ὁδὸν προεληλυθότων, ἣν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἴσως δεήσει πορεύεσθαι, ποία τις ἐστι, τραχεῖα καὶ χαλεπή, ἢ ῥαδία καὶ εὔπορος.* Observe the succession of similar sounds in t*am*qu*am*, aliqu*am*, long*am*, vi*am*.

21 *viam confeceris:* so pro Quint. 79 *conficere* DCC *milia passuum; conficere iter* is a common phrase.

quam...ingrediundum sit: this construction (the neuter of the gerundive with *est* followed by an accusative case) is exceedingly rare excepting in two writers, Lucretius and Varro. See the full list of examples given by Roby, Pref. to Gram. vol. 2, p. LXXII. The best texts of Cicero now give only one example of a construction at all resembling this, viz. pro Scauro 13 *obliviscendum vobis putatis matrum in liberos, virorum in uxores scelera?* The supposition of some scholars, that in our passage Cic. used the construction in imitation of the archaic style of Cato, is not likely to be true, seeing that in Cato's extant works the construction does not once occur. For the form *-undum* see n. on 5, l. 12.

22 *istuc:* not adverb, but neuter pronoun, as in 8, l. 10. The kind of construction, *istuc videre quale sit* for *videre quale istuc sit*, is especially common in Cicero.

§ 7.

23 *faciam ut potero:* 'I will do it as well as I can'. Observe the future *potero* where English idiom would require a present. So Rep. 1, 38 *hic Scipio, faciam quod voltis, ut potero.*

saepe enim: enim introduces a reason not for the words *ut potero*, but for *faciam*:—'I will grant your request because I have often heard complaints about old age and therefore have thought of the matter'.

24 *pares autem etc.:* for the parenthesis cf. 45, l. 15 *sodalitates autem etc.*

vetere proverbio: the saying is as old as Homer, Od. 17, 218 *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον*; cf. also Plat. Rep. 329 A *πολλάκις γὰρ συνερχόμεθά τινες εἰς ταὐτὸ παραπλησίαν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντες, διασῴζοντες τὴν παλαιὰν παροιμίαν*, Symp. 195 B *ὁ γὰρ παλαιὸς λόγος εὖ ἔχει, ὡς ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ ἀεὶ πελάζει*, Phaedr. 240 C *ἥλικα γὰρ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος τέρπειν τὸν ἥλικα etc.*

25 *facillime:* 'most cheerfully', 'most eagerly'; a common meaning of the word in Cic., *e.g.* Fam. 2, 16, 2 *in maritimis facillime sum*, *i.e.* 'I find most pleasure in staying by the sea'.

quae: a kind of explanation of *querellis*:—'lamentations, viz. such utterances as *etc.*' So Lael. 14 *cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum quae se...audisse dicebat* (see my n. on the passage); Fam. 2, 8, 2 *sermonibus de re publica...quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt;* cf. below, n. on 38, l. 31.

C. Salinator: probably C. Livius Salinator, praetor in 191 B.C. (Livy 35, 24), who was entrusted with the equipment of the Roman

fleets during the war against Antiochus. He was most likely born about 230, and therefore a little younger than Cato; cf. *fere aequales* in l. 26. Salinator was consul in 188, and died in 170. For the name Salinator cf. n. on 11, l. 11.

26 *Sp. Albinus:* Sp. Postumius Albinus was consul in 186 and was with his colleague appointed to investigate the great Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year (Livy 39, cc. 1 sq.). Albinus died in 180. He was probably a little younger than Salinator. He can scarcely have been fifty years of age at his death.

27 *tum...tum:* 'now...again'; so in 45, l. 23.

28 *vitam nullam putarent:* 'they considered life to be not life at all'. For *vitam nullam* cf. Lael. 86 *sine amicitia vitam esse nullam;* also the Greek phrase *βίος ἀβίωτος*; and below, 77, l. 22 *vitam quae est sola vita nominanda;* also 82, l. 26. *Putarent* = 'thought, as they said'.

29 *essent coli soliti:* note the separation of *essent* from *soliti* and cf. n. on 3, l. 9 *parum...auctoritatis;* and for *coli* n. on 10, l. 29.

id quod esset accusandum: the subjunctive *esset* is used because a *class* of things is referred to ('nothing of a nature to deserve complaint'); *id quod erat etc.* would have meant merely 'that one thing which was matter for complaint'.

31 *usu venirent:* the phrase *usu venire* scarce differs in meaning from *accidere*. *Usu* is commonly explained as an ablative ('in practice', 'in experience'), but is quite as likely to be a dative of the sort generally called predicative ('to come as matter of experience'); cf. *venire exscidio* (Verg. Aen. 1, 22), *odio* (Plin. N. H. 28, 106), *subsidio* (Caes. B. G. 5, 27, *etc.*).

32 *quorum...multorum:* the first genitive is dependent on the second, so that *quorum* = *e quibus*. For the separation of *quorum* from *multorum* and of *multorum* from *senectutem* cf. n. on 3, l. 9.

33 *sine querella:* this phrase stands as an attribute of *senectutem*. This form of attributive phrase, consisting of a preposition with a noun, is common; cf. 24, l. 22 *ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos;* 40, l. 15 *cum hostibus clandestina colloquia.*

qui: 'men of such nature as to...'; so *quae* in 15, p. 35, l. 3 and often.

et...nec: Roby § 2241. The reason for the departure from the ordinary sequence of particles lies in the words *non moleste*. *Nec...et* is common; see n. on 51, l. 19.

libidinum vinculis etc.: Cic. is here thinking of the conversation between Socrates and Cephalus in Plato Rep. 329 D, for which see Introd. p. 12, also Appendix B.

P. 32.

3 *moderati:* 'self-controlled' (cf. n. on 1, l. 9 *moderationem*), *difficiles:* 'peevish'; *inhumani:* 'unkindly'; *importunitas:* 'perversity'. *Importunitas* seems to be used as the substantive corresponding in sense

to the adjective *difficilis*. *Difficultas* in the sense of 'peevishness' probably occurs only in Mur. 19.

5 *omni...est*: 'bring trouble upon every season of life'. For the singular verb *est* see Roby § 1439; also below, 33, p. 41, l. 5; 56, l. 21; 67, l. 20.

§ 8.

6 *dixerit quispiam*: 'some one will say presently'; a gentle way of introducing one's own objection. The mood of *dixerit* is probably indicative, not subjunctive; see the thorough discussion in Roby, Gram. Vol. 2, pref. pp. 104 sq.

7 *opes et copias*: 'resources and means'. *Opes* has a wider meaning than *copias* (mere material wealth) and includes all sources of power, influence and authority as well as wealth. Thus in Lael. 22 the end of *divitiae* is said to be enjoyment; of *opes*, worship (*opes ut colare*). *Dignitas* is social position.

8 *id*: remark the singular pronoun, which indicates that the preceding clause is now taken as conveying one idea. Trans. 'such fortune'.

9 *contingere*: 'to fall to one's lot' is the phrase in English which most closely represents *contingere*. This verb is not (as is often assumed) used merely of *good* fortune; it implies in itself nothing concerning the *character* of events, whether they be good or bad, but simply that the events take place *naturally* and were to be expected. See my n. on Lael. 8, where the word is distinctly used in connexion with *bad* fortune, as it is, strikingly, below in 71, l. 22.

10 *est...omnia*: 'your statement indeed amounts to something, but it by no means comprises every consideration'. The phrase *esse aliquid* 'to be of some importance', is often used by Cic. both of things and of persons; cf. Tusc. 5, 104 *eos aliquid esse*, also n. on 17, l. 20 *nihil afferunt*. So *esse aliquis* of persons, as in the well-known passage of Iuvenal 1, 72 *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum si vis esse aliquis*. For the general sense cf. Tusc. 3, 52 *est id quidem magnum, sed non sunt in hoc omnia*; so De Or. 2, 215; ib. 3, 221; Leg. 2, 24 *in quo sunt omnia*.

11 *isto*: the use of the neuter pronoun in the oblique case as substantive is noticeable; cf. n. on 3, l. 6.

Themistocles etc.: Cicero borrows the story from Plato (see Appendix B), but it was first told by Herodotus 8, 125 who gave a somewhat different version. Themistocles had received great honours at Sparta when Athenian ambassador there; on an envious man declaring that the honours were paid really to Athens and not to Themistocles, the statesman answered οὔτ' ἂν ἐγώ, ἐὼν Βελβινίτης (*i.e.* an inhabitant of the small island of Belbina lying to the S. of Cape Sunium) ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σὺ ἄνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.

Seriphio: Seriphus is a small island belonging to the Cyclad group and lying almost due N. of Melos, and due E. of the Scyllaean promontory. Seriphus is often taken by ancient writers as a specimen of an

insignificant community (*e.g.* Aristoph. Acharn. 542; Cic. N. D. 1, 88), but it had the honour of being one of the three island states which refused to give earth and water to the Persian envoys, the other two being the adjacent islands of Melos and Siphnus (Herodotus 8, 46).

12 *iurgio: iurgium* is a quarrel which does not go beyond words; *rixa* a quarrel where the disputants come to blows.

14 *si ego:* but later *tu si.* The contrast would certainly be more perfect if *ego si* were read, as has been proposed, in place of *si ego.*

15 *quod eodem modo...dici:* Cic. commonly says *quod ita dicendum* and the like; see n. on 35, l. 23. Cato means that just as Themistocles' success was due to two things, his own character and his good fortune, so two things are necessary to make old age endurable, viz. moderate fortune and wisdom. He then in § 9 insists that of these two conditions wisdom is far the most important.

16 *nec...levis...nec...non gravis:* the *chiasmus* should be noticed; see n. on 3, l. 6.

§ 9.

18 *aptissima etc.:* 'undoubtedly the most suitable weapons of defence for old age are intellectual attainments and the practice of moral excellences, and if these have been cultivated at every age, they produce astonishing fruits at the end of a long and active life'...

omnino: here=*παντάπασι* 'undoubtedly' in a strongly affirmative sense, as in 76, l. 9, but in 28, l. 11 (where see n.) it is concessive.

Scipio et Laeli: so 4, l. 23; also see n. on 77, l. 21.

19 *exercitationes virtutum:* cf. 36, p. 42, l. 2; 38, l. 27.

20 *cum diu multumque vixeris:* literally 'when you have lived long and much', *i.e.* when you have not only had a long life but have done a great deal in the course of it. The phrases *diu multumque, multum et diu* are common in Cic., as below, 38, l. 30; Acad. 1, 4; Div. 2, 1; Off. 1, 118; Leg. Agr. 2, 88; De Or. 1, 152.

mirificos ecferunt fructus: for the order of the words cf. n. on 3, l. 9. *Ecferunt* for *efferunt* (*ec=ex=ecs;* so ἐκ=ἐξ=ἐκς) was old-fashioned in Cicero's time, but forms of the sort (as below, 39, l. 13 *ecfrenate*) occur in a good many passages, according to the evidence of the best MSS. [See Neue, Formenlehre, Vol. 2, pp. 766 sq. ed. 2.]

21 *numquam deserunt:* the omission of the object after *deserunt* is not common. For the general sense of this passage cf. Arch. 16 *litterarum studia adulescentiam alunt, s e n e c t u t e m o b l e c t a n t, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur rusticantur.*

23 *maximum est:* 'is of the highest importance'.

conscientia bene actae vitae etc.: Tischer quotes from Stobaeus, Floril. 114 a passage of Favorinus:—*περιγίγνεται δὲ ἐκ τῶν καλῶν μαθημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων κατορθωματων. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τούτων ὑπάρχει*

τῷ γέροντι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι καὶ καθάπερ κτήμασι τέρπεσθαι, λογιζόμενον ὅτι ἡ τύχη, ἡ πάντων κυρία τῶν ἄλλων, ταῦτα ἄκυρός ἐστιν ἀφελέσθαι.

§ 10.

26 *Q. Maximum:* the famous Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Ovicula Cunctator, hero of the Second Punic War.

eum...recepit: this clause has often been suspected to be an insertion of the writers of MSS. But (1) the capture of Tarentum in 209 B.C. was Fabius' crowning achievement and 'captor of Tarentum' was often added to his name as a title of honour; see *e.g.* De Or. 2, 273; and (2) there were several other persons of distinction bearing the name Q. Maximus about the same time, so that some special mark was wanted for the sake of clearness. Notice *recepit* 'recovered', Tarentum having been lost by the Romans to Hannibal in 212 B.C.

27 *senem adulescens:* observe the emphasis given by placing close together the two words of opposite meaning.

erat...gravitas: 'that hero possessed dignity tempered by courtesy'. Expressions like *erat in illo gravitas* are common in Cicero; *e.g.* Mur. 58 *erat in Cotta summa eloquentia.* The metaphor in *condīta* ('seasoned') is also common; cf. Lael. 66 *suavitas morum, haudquaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiae.*

29 *quamquam:* 'though indeed', introducing a necessary correction of the last words *nec senectus mores mutaverat.* For this corrective *quamquam* cf. n. on 2, l. 17.

colere: 'to reverence', 'pay regard to'; so in 7, l. 29; 26, l. 13; 83, l. 33.

grandem natu: although the phrases *maior maximus parvus minor minimus natu* are of frequent occurrence, yet *magnus natu* is not Latin, *grandis natu* being always used instead. In l. 4 (p. 33), and in 16, l. 19 we have *grandem* without *natu.* The historians use *magno natu esse* or *in magno natu esse* sometimes.

30 *anno post:* the word *unus* is not usually attached to *annus* except where there is a strong contrast between one and a larger number of years; cf. 24, l. 27. *Anno post* must not be translated 'during the year after', but either 'a year after' (*anno* being regarded as the ablative of measure or excess, literally 'later by a year') or 'at the end of a year' (the ablative being one of limitation, and *fuerat* being equivalent to *factus erat* 'had been elected'). So *quinto anno* below, 'at the end of the fifth year', *i.e.* 'five years after'.

32 *adulescentulus miles:* these words must not be rendered as though *adulescentulus* were an epithet qualifying *miles.* (See n. on 21, l. 30 *quemquam senem.*) Translate 'when quite a youth I marched with him to Capua as a private soldier'. *Miles* here=*gregarius miles;* cf. 18, l. 28; 32, l. 14.

P. 33.

1 *quem magistratum: sc. quaesturam* to be understood from *quaestor.* Cf. Mur. 18 *quaesturam una petiit et sum ego factus* (*sc. quaestor*) *prior.*

2 *Tuditano et Cethego:* when the *praenomina* of the consuls are given the names generally stand side by side without *et;* when they are omitted *et* is generally inserted. Cf. n. on 50, p. 47, l. 4.

cum quidem: the *quidem* simply adds a slight emphasis to *cum* 'at the very time when', ἐπειδή γε: so below, l. 10; 41, p. 44, l. 2.

3 *suasor: suasor legis* was any person who publicly (*i.e.* before the senate or people in *contio* assembled) spoke in favour of a measure, *dissuasor* any one who spoke against it. Cf. 14, l. 23 *suasissem.*

legis Cinciae: a law passed in 204 B.C. by M. Cincius Alimentus, a plebeian tribune, whereby advocates were forbidden to take fees from their clients, and certain limitations were placed on gifts of property by private persons.

4 *cum...esset:* '*though* he was'; so below 11, l. 18; 30, l. 28, *etc.*

grandis:=grandis natu above, p. 32, l. 29. So *maior, minor* often are put for *maior natu, minor natu.*

5 *iuveniliter:* Hannibal was 29 years of age when he entered Italy in 218.

exsultantem: 'wildly roaming'. The word is in its literal sense used of a horse galloping at its own will over a plain. The metaphorical use is common in Cicero; cf. Acad. 2, 112 *cum sit campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias compellimus?*

patientia: this word does not correspond in meaning with our 'patience', but should rather be translated 'endurance', 'persistence'.

molliebat: 'tamed'.

6 *praeclare: sc. dicit;* cf. n. on 3, l. 15.

familiaris noster: see Introd. p. 15.

7 *unus homo etc.:* these lines were famous, and were not only often quoted with the name of Ennius attached (as in Off. 1, 84; Livy 30, 26) but also imitated or adapted without mention of his name, as being too familiar to need it; cf. Att. 2, 19, 2; Ovid. Fast. 2, 241; Verg. Aen. 6, 846; Suet. Tib. 21.

cunctando: Polybius 3, 105, 8 says of Fabius, *τοῖς μὲν οὖν παρ' αὐτὸν γενομένοις τὸν κίνδυνον ἦν ἐναργὲς ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὴν τοῦ* Μάρκου (*i.e.* Varro) *τόλμαν ἀπόλωλε τὰ ὅλα, διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν τοῦ Φαβίου σέσωσται καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καὶ νῦν.*

rem: here=*rem publicam*; cf. n. on 1, l. 6 *haud magna cum re.*

8 *noenum:* the older form from which *non* is an abbreviation;=*ne-oinom, n-oinom,* literally 'not one thing'; cf. *nihil=ne-hilum* 'not a whit', also the rare word *ningulus=ne oinculus,* 'not even a little one'.

rumores: 'fame'.

ponebāt: for the long vowel cf. n. on 1, l. 2 *versat.*

9 *plusque:* for the reading see Appendix A. Ennius uses *plus* and *magis* with little difference of meaning; for example he uses *plus miser* for *magis miser* or *miserior*. *Plusque magisque* is a variation upon the ordinary phrases *plus plusque*, *magis magisque*.

claret: from *clarēre*, a verb of exceedingly rare occurrence even in poetry, and not found at all in prose.

§ 11.

11 *Salinatori:* there can be no doubt that Cicero is guilty of a blunder here, and in De Or. 2, 273 where the story also occurs. Livy (27, 34, 7) gives M. Livius Macatus as the name of the Roman commander who held the citadel of Tarentum while Hannibal was in possession of the town. Cicero probably found the commander described by the annalists merely as M. Livius (so in Livy 24, 20, 13; 26, 39, 1), and then jumped to the conclusion that he was the famous M. Livius Salinator. This man (the father of the Salinator mentioned in 7, l. 25) was consul in 219, and subdued the Illyrians, but was condemned for misappropriation of public moneys, and went into exile. In 210 he was induced to return by desire of the senate, and in 207 became consul with C. Claudius Nero, and defeated Hasdrubal in the great battle of the Metaurus. In 204 Livius was censor with Nero as his colleague, and won his name *Salinator* by imposing a tax on salt. The title was bestowed in ridicule, but clung to the family. Salinator was a relative of M. Livius Macatus (Liv. 27, 34, 7).

12 *ita dicenti etc.:* the anecdote is told by Livy 27, 25, 5 and Plutarch Fab. 23 (who however refer the story not to the time at which Tarentum was taken, but to the year after, when altercations about it took place in the senate).

mea opera: so Liv. 27, 5, 5 *eius opera...opera Livi.*

14 *amisisses...recepissem:* so Liv. l. l. *neque enim recipiendum fuisse, nisi amissum foret.*

15 *toga:* here put for 'civil life', the *toga* being replaced in time of war by the *sagum*. Cf. in Pisonem 73 *pacis est insigne et oti toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli;* De Or. 3, 167 '*togam*' *pro* '*pace*', '*arma*' *ac* '*tela*' *pro* '*bello*'. We have the same opposition between *arma* and *toga* in Cicero's own much-derided verse, *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi* (defended by Cic. in Pis. l. l. and Off. 1, 77). *Erat* is omitted as in l. 25 and l. 28, also in 61, l. 17, and as *sunt* is in 64, l. 15; such omissions are not uncommon in short emphatic clauses or sentences.

consul iterum etc.: as the second consulship of Fabius was in 228 B.C., while the law of Flaminius was passed in 232 (according to Polybius), it is very difficult to understand the statement here made. It is possible that Flaminius was one of the commissioners for executing his own law, and that its execution lasted over the time of Fabius' second consulship. [C. F. Hermann in the 'Rheinisches Museum' for 1843, p. 573 argues that Polybius only says that the *Gallicus ager* was divided

in 232; that the law for its division may have been carried, and Flaminius may have been tribune, in 233, when Fabius was consul for the first time, Carvilius having been consul for the first time in 234; that as at that time the tribunes entered on office on Dec. 10th and the consuls not till Apr. 13th, Flaminius may have been tribune for 4 or 5 months while Carvilius was consul, and for 7 or 8 months while Fabius was consul; that Cicero, having read of Carvilius' neutrality and Fabius' opposition, jumped to the conclusion that the two were colleagues at the time, and so placed the law in 228. The confusion no doubt partly arose from the fact that both Fabius and Carvilius had the *cognomen* Maximus.] The Flaminius here mentioned is the same who fell as consul in 217 at the battle of lake Trasimenus. He held large and statesmanlike views on the policy of securing Italy by planting Romans and Latins in the territory then recently taken from the Gauls, in the neighbourhood of Ariminum. This particular measure was carried in the teeth of the senate, and was the first law passed, since the *lex Hortensia* of 287, in defiance of the senate's wishes. It was also the first agrarian law since the Licinio-Sextian law of 367. Polybius dates the decline of the Roman constitution from the passing of the *lex Flaminia*.

Sp. Carvilio quiescente: this Sp. Carvilius was consul in 234 when he conquered the Corsicans and Sardinians. In 228 he was again consul, and died as augur in 212. He is said, but erroneously, to have been the first Roman who divorced his wife. In 216, just after the battle of Cannae, he made a most remarkable proposal, to fill up the gaps which that battle had made in the numbers of the senate by selecting two members from each of the Latin communities. It was almost the only occasion in the course of Roman history when anything like modern representative government was advocated. Carvilius was not sprung from one of the noble families who for the most part monopolised the higher offices of state; it is therefore not surprising that he should have sympathised with Flaminius.

17 *contra senatus auctoritatem:* 'against the expressed wish of the senate'. *Senatus auctoritas* is, strictly speaking, an opinion of the senate not formally embodied in a decree (*senatus consultum*). Cicero, in Invent. 2, 52 says Flaminius carried his law *contra voluntatem omnium optimatium*.

18 *dividenti:* 'when he tried to divide'. The participle is here equivalent to *cum* with the imperfect indicative (*dividebat*). So in 54, l. 29 *lenientem*.

cum esset: '*though* he was'. What Fabius declared practically was that the *auspicia* were a political instrument in the hands of the aristocrats, rather than a part of religion. Fabius, according to Liv. 30, 26, 7, was augur for 62 years before his death, and had no doubt had a large experience in the manipulation of the *auspicia* for political purposes. Compare with our passage Homer Iliad 12, 243 εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης; also Cic. Phil. 11, 28 *Iuppiter ipse sanxit ut omnia quae rei publicae salutaria essent legitima et iusta haberentur.*

§ 12.

21 *admirabilius:* 'more amazing'. The Latin word has a much stronger meaning than the English word derived from it.

22 *quo modo tulit:=eum modum quo tulit,* so that the clause is not really dependent on *cognovi,* nor is *tulit* irregularly put for *tulerit.* In Lael. 9 Laelius exclaims, of Cato himself, *quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem fili tulit.* And no doubt Cic. meant here to make Cato allude to *his* loss, described in § 84.

23 *consularis:* the son of Fabius was consul in 213 with Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

est in manibus: 'is in every one's hands', 'is commonly read'. The expression is common enough in this sense; *e.g.* Lael. 96 *in manibus est oratio.* Below, 38, l. 21 the same expression bears a different meaning; cf. also 22, l. 11 *in manibus habebat.*

laudatio: sc. funebris, the funeral speech. This composition was read in Cicero's time (see Tusc. 3, 70; Fam. 4, 6, 1) and existed in the time of Plutarch; cf. his life of Fab. 24 τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον αὐτὸς εἶπε καταστὰς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ γράψας τὸν λόγον ἐξέδωκεν.

24 *quem philosophum:* many of the ancient philosophers wrote popular treatises in which the principles of philosophy were applied to the alleviation of sorrow. The most famous of these in Cicero's time was Crantor's περὶ πένθους, which Cicero used largely in writing his *Tusculan Disputations,* and also in his *De Consolatione* on the death of his daughter.

in luce atque in oculis civium: 'in public and under the gaze of his fellow-countrymen'. The young student must be careful not to translate *in oculis* by the English phrase 'in the eyes of' which has another sense. The metaphor in *lux* is often used by Cicero, as Qu. Fr. 1, 1, 7 *in luce Asiae, in oculis provinciae.*

26 *praecepta:* 'maxims'. For the omission of *erant* in abrupt exclamations or questions cf. 35, l. 25 *quid mirum igitur;* 68, l. 27 *quid enim stultius;* also 11, l. 15 n.

27 *iuris auguri:* cf. below 38, l. 24 and Fam. 3, 9, 3 *cognitionem iuris auguri;* sometimes *ius augurale* is used in place of *ius augurium,* as in Brut. 267.

multae litterae: 'great literary attainments'. In this sense *magnae* could not be used to represent 'great'. Note the ellipse of *erant;* cf. 11, l. 15.

ut in homine Romano: 'considering that he was a Roman', or 'for a Roman'. In parenthetic clauses like this, the introductory *ut* may convey two very different meanings according to the context. Thus in Acad. 2, 98 *homo acutus, ut Poenus* is 'a keen-witted man, *as might be expected of* a Carthaginian' (cf. Colum. 1, 3, 8 *acutissimam gentem Poenos*) while Nepos, Epam. 5, 2 *exercitatum in dicendo ut Thebanum* implies that oratory was *not* to be expected of a Theban.

29 *domestica...externa bella:* here the *domestica bella* are those wars which belong to the history of Rome; the *externa bella* those wars which belong to the history of other states; but usually *domestica bella* are *civil* wars, *externa* foreign wars in which Rome is engaged; *e.g.* Leg. agr. 2, 90 *omnibus domesticis externisque bellis;* in Catil. 2, 11 *omnia sunt externa unius virtute pacata: domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt.* Some editors think the word *bella* (which is in all the MSS) was not written by Cicero. The practice, however, of reading *military* history was common among Roman commanders; see for instance Acad. 2, 3 (of Lucullus); the practice is ridiculed by Marius in Sall. Iug. 85.

30 *ita:* Tischer rightly remarks that *ita* does not qualify *cupide*, and has not the sense of *tam;* it means rather 'in this state', 'under these conditions'; the words from *quasi* to the end of the sentence really form an explanation of *ita*. This mode of expression is commonly found in Latin writers, particularly Cicero; *ita* and *sic* often look on to clauses introduced by *quasi, si, ut, cum etc.* Cf. below, 26, l. 22 *litteras Graecas, quas sic avide arripui quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens* (where see n.); Sall. Iug. 85, 19 *ita aetatem agunt quasi vostros honores contemnunt, ita hos petunt quasi honeste vixerint.* [Madvig on Fin. 3, 53.]

31 *illo exstincto:* Fabius died in 203 B.C.

fore unde discerem neminem: cf. Acad. 1, 8 *quae nemo adhuc docuerat nec erat unde studiosi scire possent. Unde* of persons is common both in verse and prose (so ὅθεν and ὅθενπερ, vid. Liddell and Scott in vv.); cf. Horace, O. 1, 12, 17 *unde nil maius generatur ipso;* 1, 28, 28 *unde potest tibi defluat aequo ab Iove;* Cic. de Or. 1, 67 *ille ipse unde cognorit;* ib. 2, 285 *is unde te audisse dicis.* So *ubi=apud quem* in Verr. 4, 29; *quo=ad quos* below, 83, p. 59, l. 3 and in Verr. 4, 38; cf. also n. on *istinc* in 47, l. 12.

§ 13.

32 *quorsus igitur haec: sc. dixi.* For the ellipse cf. n. on 3, l. 15.

tam multa: this takes the place of *tot*, which, like *quot*, cannot be used as a substantive.

P. 34.

2 *Scipiones:* 'men like Scipio', *i.e.* the elder Africanus; so 15, p. 35, l. 6 *Fabricii Curii Coruncanii.* Cicero here has put his own opinions concerning Scipio into the mouth of Cato, who, during a large part of his life, was a staunch and even bitter opponent of Scipio, and therefore far from likely to couple him with Fabius. Cf. Introd. pp. 15, 19.

3 *ut...recordentur:* the repetition of *ut* with each clause for the sake of effect may be compared with the repetition of *nihil* in § 27 (cf. also § 15); of *non* in § 32; of *hinc* in § 40; of *sibi* in § 58.

pedestris: for *terrestris;* the usage is very common; so in Greek πεζομαχία and ναυμαχία, πεζομαχεῖν and ναυμαχεῖν are often contrasted (see Liddell and Scott). It is not recorded by historians that either Scipio or Fabius took part personally in naval warfare.

4 *recordentur:* this verb implies the habitual dwelling of the memory upon the past.

5 *quiete et pure atque eleganter:* the enumeration consists of two branches connected by *et*, the second branch being subdivided into two members connected by *atque*. Had each of the adverbs been intended to stand exactly on the same footing Cic. must have written *et* instead of *atque* or else must have omitted the copula altogether; see n. on 53, l. 21. In enumerations of the form $A + (B_1 + B_2)$, the + outside the bracket is expressed by *et*, the + inside the bracket generally being expressed by *ac*, for which *atque* is substituted when the following word (*i.e.* B_2) begins with a vowel, a guttural (*c*, *q*, *g*) or *h*, before which sounds *ac* was not written.

pure atque eleganter: 'sinlessly and gently'. *Pure* implies moral stainlessness, *eleganter* (literally 'in choice fashion') implies daintiness combined with simplicity in regard to the external conditions of life. The same ideas are put together in Sull. 79 *cum summa elegantia atque integritate vixistis.*

aetatis: here = life as a whole; see n. on 5, l. 8.

placida ac lenis: 'quiet and mild'; *placida* refers to the external surroundings, *lenis* to the temper and character.

6 *accepimus: sc. fuisse;* for the ellipse of the infinitive cf. n. on 22, l. 13.

uno et octogesimo: but below *quarto* (not *quattuor*) *nonagesimo.* In the compound *ordinal* numbers corresponding to those *cardinal* numbers which are made up of *one* and a multiple of ten, the Latins use *unus* oftener than *primus*, which would be strictly correct; so in English '*one* and eightieth' for 'eighty-first'. The ordinary Grammar rule (Roby, Vol. 1, p. 443 'the *ordinal* not the *cardinal* is used in giving the date') requires slight correction.

7 *scribens est mortuus:* 'died while still engaged upon his works'; cf. § 23 *num Platonem...coegit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus?* Most editors take the words to mean 'died in the act of writing', but this is not necessary, and Diog. Laert. 3, 2 quoting Hermippus (a Greek writer on biography who lived about the time of the Second Punic war), says that Plato died in the middle of a marriage-feast at which he was a guest. [Val. Max. 8, 7, 3 gives a slightly different account.]

Isocrati: this form of the genitive of Greek proper names in *-es* was probably used by Cicero rather than the form in *-is*. [Madvig on Fin. 1, 14; Neue, Formenlehre 1^2 332.] Isocrates, the greatest teacher of rhetoric of his time, lived from 436 to 338, when he died by voluntary starvation owing to his grief at the loss of Greek freedom through the battle of Chaeronea. [Milton Sonnet x. 'that dishonest victory At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty Kill'd with report that old man eloquent'.]

8 *eum...inscribitur:* the periphrasis is common, and the verb *inscribere* is nearly always in the present tense (in later prose as well as in Cicero) as in 59, l. 17. This is sometimes the case even where the neighbour-

ing verbs are in past tenses, as in Acad. 1, 12 *nec se tenuit quin contra suum doctorem librum etiam ederet qui Sosus inscribitur*. The present seems to mean that the name mentioned is continually given to each copy of the book as produced; where the continuing multiplication of copies is not looked to, we have the perfect, as Att. 8, 5, 2 *tu fasciculum* (bundle of letters) *qui est inscriptus 'des M. Curio', velim cures ad eum perferendum*. Cf. also De Or. 2, 61 *deceptus indicibus librorum qui sunt fere inscripti* ('to which the authors—once for all—have given the titles') *de virtute, de iustitia etc.*; so Div. 2, 1 *eo libro qui est inscriptus Hortensius*.

9 *dicit*: the 'Panathenaicus', an encomium of Athens written for recitation at the great festival of the Panathenaea, is among the works of Isocrates which we still possess. In c. 1 Isocrates says τοῖς ἔτεσι ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τετταρσίν, ὧν ἐγὼ τυγχάνω γεγονώς. Some editors have *quarto et nonagesimo*; for this see Appendix A.

vixitque: 'and yet he lived'. The *que* here has a slight adversative force, as is often the case with *et*. Cf. n. on 28, l. 13; 43, l. 23; 73, l. 20.

10 *Gorgias*: the greatest of the sophists, born at Leontini in Sicily about 485 B.C.; his death took place, according to the varying accounts, in 378, 377 or 380. In his old age he lived in Thessaly, where Isocrates studied with him; see Or. 176; Fin. 2, 1. For the adjective *Leontinus* placed before the name rather than after cf. 43, l. 21 *Thessalo Cinea*, also n. on 54, l. 26.

centum et septem annos: Kennedy, Gram. § 34, vii. *b* 'in compound numbers above 100 with or without *et* the larger number generally precedes the smaller', Roby, Vol. 1, p. 443. Cf. n. on 30, l. 32 *viginti et duos annos*.

11 *complevit*: Augustan poets and later prose writers use in similar phrases the verb *implere*, not found thus in Cic.; so Hor. Ep. 1, 20, 27; Plin. Ep. 5, 16, 2. Nor does Cic. thus use *explere*, so common in Livy and writers after him.

neque umquam etc.: 'nor did he ever rest from his application to his own pursuit and occupation'. Notice that *cesso* does not correspond in meaning with our 'cease', *i.e.* '*to come to* a standstill'; *cesso* is 'I *am* in a state of rest', 'I am idle'. For *in studio* cf. 49, l. 28 *videbamus in studio*.

12 *qui cum ex eo quaereretur*: the construction *a quo cum quaereretur* would have been more usual; cf. Off. 2, 89 *a quo cum quaereretur*. For the construction in our passage cf. Phil. 2, 17 *quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis esse superatum*.

quaereretur: the past tense, though the principal verb (*inquit*) is in the present, because the present is the *historical* present, and so equivalent to a past tense. Cf. Roby 1511—1514; Kennedy 229, 2; also below, 47, ll. 10—12. The idiom by which the imperfect stands where we should expect a tense of completed action, should be noticed; cf. the passage from Cic. Off. quoted above; also Tusc. 2, 60 *quem cum rogaret, respondit*. The explanation of the imperfect in such cases is I think this, that it marks out, more clearly than the pluperfect would, the

fact that the action of the principal verb and the action of the dependent verb are practically contemporaneous. In our passage if *quaesitum esset* had been written it would have indicated merely that at some quite indefinite time after the question was put, the answer was given. A very instructive passage is N. D. 1, 60 *auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum quaesivisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi sibi unum diem postulavit; cum idem ex eo postridie quaereret, biduum petivit; cum saepius duplicaret numerum dierum admiransque Hiero requireret, cur ita faceret, Quia, quanto diutius considero, inquit, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.* Cf. *quaerente* in 72, p. 55, l. 3.

cur...vita: 'why he chose to remain so long in life'; probably a hint at suicide, which the ancients thought a justifiable mode of escape from troubles, particularly those of ill health or old age. *Esse in vita* is stronger than *vivere;* cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 3, 5 *diutius in hac vita esse non possum ... nec fieri potest me diutius in tam misera tamque turpi vita commorari.*

13 *nihil habeo quod accusem:* 'I have no reason to reproach'. Cf. the common phrase *quid est quod...?*

14 *praeclarum responsum: est* is not required, because *responsum* is in apposition to the last part of the preceding sentence. Similar appositions occur in Laelius §§ 67, 71, 79.

docto: especially applied to philosophers; also to poets. The word implies *cultivation* as well as mere *knowledge;* 'a learned man', merely as such, is '*homo litteratus*'; cf. n. on 54, l. 26.

§ 14.

sua vitia etc.: for the sense cf. 7, p. 32, l. 2; also Sall. Iug. 1, 4 *suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt.*

16 *cuius...feci:* 'the aforesaid' is in good Latin always expressed by a parenthesis like this and not by a participle in agreement with the noun. The phrases '*ante dictus*', '*supra dictus*', belong to silver Latin, where they are common. Cf. 23, l. 16 *quos ante dixi;* 53, l. 14 n.; 53, l. 22; 56, l. 27. *Modo:* § 10.

17 *sic ut etc.:* the lines are from the Annals of Ennius, for which see n. on 1, l. 1.

ecus: the editors print *equus,* but Ennius did not write *uu* (nor, most likely did Cicero); he may have written either *ecus, equos,* or *equs* (which Vahlen prints in his edition of Ennius).

spatio supremo: 'at the end of the race-course', 'at the goal', or it may be 'at the last turn round the course', the race requiring the course to be run round several times (cf. Homer's πύματον δρόμον in Iliad 23, 768). So 83, l. 6 *decurso spatio;* Verg. Aen. 5, 327 *iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam finem adventabant;* Vergil often has the plural *spatia.*

18 *vicit Olumpia:* a direct imitation of the Greek phrase νικᾶν Ὀλύμπια, to win a victory at an Olympic contest. So Horace Ep. 1, 1, 50

has *coronari Olympia* = στεφανοῦσθαι Ὀλύμπια. The editors print *Olympia*, but the use of *y* to represent Greek υ did not come in till long after the time of Ennius.

senio: differs from *senectute* in implying not merely old age, but the weakness which usually accompanies it.

confectus: for the disregard of the final *s* in scansion cf. n. on 1, l. 6.

19 *equi victoris:* for the almost adjectival use of the substantive *victor* cf. Verg. Aen. 7, 656 *victores equos;* ib. 12, 751 *venator canis;* ib. 10, 891 (also 11, 89 and Georg. 2, 145) *bellator ecus* (in Theocritus 15, 51 πολεμισταὶ ἵπποι). The feminine nouns in *-trix* are freely used as adjectives both in verse and in prose.

quem quidem: the same form of transition is used in 26, l. 22; 29, l. 19; 46, p. 46, l. 5; 53, l. 19. For the antecedent to the relative understood from *suam* Tischer quotes Caesar B. G. 7, 50, 4 *vestrae vitae, quos ...;* Livy 5, 40, 3 *muliebris fletus...earum....* Add below, 25, l. 10; 67, l. 15; also Acad. 2, 103 *Academia...a quibus.* It should be noticed that the whole of this passage to *suasissem* is an exhibition of antiquarian learning quite unnatural and inappropriate in a dialogue.

20 *probe meminisse potestis:* cf. De Or. 3, 194 *quem tu probe meministi;* Fin. 2, 63 *L. Thorius quem meminisse tu non potes. Memini* can only take a *personal* accusative when the person who remembers was a contemporary of the person remembered; in other instances the genitive must follow. For the sound of the words *probe meminisse potestis,* which might form the end of a hexameter line, cf. n. on 2, l. 19.

21 *hi consules:* 'the present consuls'; cf. n. on 50, p. 47, l. 7 *huius Scipionis.*

T. Flamininus: commonly said, I do not know on what authority, to be the son of the great Flamininus (1, l. 1). He was altogether undistinguished, as also were the Acilius and the Caepio here mentioned. This passage gives the imagined date of the dialogue as 150 B.C.

22 *Philippo:* this was Q. Marcius Philippus, who was consul in 186 and took part in the suppression of the great Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year. For the next 17 years he was a leading senator and much engaged in diplomacy in the East. In 169 he was again consul and commanded against Perseus in the early part of the war.

23 *cum...legem Voconiam...suasissem:* 'after I had spoken publicly in favour of the law of Voconius'. For *suasissem* cf. *suasor* in 10, p. 33, l. 3, with n. The *Lex Voconia de mulierum hereditatibus* aimed at securing the continuance of property in families. By its provisions no man who possessed property valued in the censors' lists at 100,000 sesterces or more, could appoint a woman or women as his *heres* or *heredes;* further, no person or persons, male or female, could receive under the will legacies amounting in all to a larger sum than that received by the principal heir or heirs. [Every Roman will named a *heres* or *heredes,* on whom devolved all the privileges and duties of the deceased, with such duties as were enjoined by the will; particularly the duty of paying the legacies left to those who were not *heredes.*]

24 *magna:* in Latin the word *magnus* is the usual equivalent of our 'loud', but *clarus* is sometimes used.

lateribus: 'lungs'. Cic. and the best writers rarely use *pulmones* for 'lungs'; the few passages in which it occurs refer either to victims sacrificed at the altar, or are medical or physiological descriptions. 'Good lungs' is always '*bona latera*', never *pulmones* (so below, 27, p. 39, l. 5; 28, l. 10); so 'to die of consumption' is '*laterum* (or *lateris*) *dolore consumi*' (De Or. 3, 6). [Nor does *pectus* correspond to our 'chest' or 'lungs'; it applies, when literally used, to the external parts only.]

26 *duo...senectutem:* Tischer quotes Aeschines in Tim. 111 γῆρας καὶ πενία, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν: Ennius is said to have kept a school in his later days and to have lived in a cottage with one servant only.

§ 15.

28 *etenim:* this word generally introduces either an explanation or a proof of a preceding statement. Here the words are elliptic and the real connexion with what precedes can only be made clear by a paraphrase. 'Ennius seemed to delight in old age. And no wonder, since there are four causes which make men think old age wretched, and no one of these will bear examination'. *Etenim* may generally be translated 'indeed', or 'in fact'.

cum complector animo: 'when I grasp them in my thoughts'. The object of *complector* is to be supplied from *causas*.

causas...videatur: 'reasons for thinking old age wretched'.

29 *avocet:* *sc. senes.* The subjunctives denote that these are the thoughts not of the speaker, but of the persons who do think old age a wretched thing.

30 *alteram...tertiam:* in enumerations of more than two things *unus* and *alter* generally take the place of *primus* and *secundus;* in Cic. these latter rarely occur under such circumstances. Cf. Att. 3, 15, 1; Fin. 5, 9; Off. 1, 152; Cluent. 178.

infirmius: *sc. quam antea erat.*

32 *si placet:* n. on 6, l. 20 *nisi molestum est.*

quam sit iusta: it is almost Cicero's rule to separate from the words they qualify *quam tam ita tantus quantus,* generally by one small word, as here. Cf. below, 35, l. 21 *quam fuit imbecillus;* 40, l. 21 *tam esse inimicum;* my n. on Laelius 10, l. 8 *quam id recte,* also on Academica 1, 26 *quanto id magis.*

P. 35.

1 *quibus:* the omission of the preposition (*a*) is almost constant; cf. in Pis. 91 *Arsinoen ... Naupactum fateris ab hostibus esse captas. Quibus hostibus? Nempe eis etc.;* Tusc. 3, 37 *sed traducis cogitationes meas ad voluptates. Quas?* Even when the relative and antecedent are in

the same sentence the preposition is often not repeated; *e.g.* Fin. 5, 68 *eodem in genere quo illa.* Kühner, Gram. II p. 423 (ed. 1878) compares Plato Soph. 243 D περὶ δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἀρχηγοῦ πρώτου νῦν σκεπτέον. τίνος δὴ λέγεις.

an eis: an always introduces a question which is not independent, but follows upon a previous question either expressed or implied. Here *quibus* implies *omnibusne.* Cf. div. in Caec. 52 *quid enim dices? An id quod dictitas...* (where *quid* implies *nihilne*) also below, 23, l. 20; 29, l. 17; 82, l. 19 (*anne*).

2 *iuventute et viribus:* commonly explained as ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, *i.e.* as put for *iuventutis viribus;* but Cic. no more meant this than we mean 'the strength of youth' when we speak of 'youth and strength'. Real instances of ἓν διὰ δυοῖν are much rarer than is generally supposed. Cf. n. on 22, l. 4.

3 *quae:=tales ut;* so *qui* in 7, l. 33 and often.

animo et mente. See n. in Appendix A.

4 *nihil...nihil:* for the repetition of this word see n. on 13, p. 34, l. 3.

Q. Maximus: see n. on 10, l. 26.

5 *L. Paulus:* this is L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, consul in 182 B.C., and again in 168 when he finished the third Macedonian war by utterly defeating Perseus at Pydna. For his connexion with Scipio and Cato see Introd. p. 24.

pater tuus: i.e. Scipio; so in 29, l. 21 *avi tui,* and in 75, p. 56, l. 1 *avom tuum,* without mention of young Scipio's name, but in 49, l. 30 *patris tui, Scipio;* so 77, l. 20.

6 *Fabricii etc.:* for the plurals see n. on 13, p. 34, l. 2. C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul in 282, 278 and 273 B.C., censor in 275, held the command against Pyrrhus. The Roman writers, Cicero especially, are never tired of eulogising him as a pattern of old-fashioned Roman virtue. Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290, 275, and 274, ended the third Samnite war (practically if not formally), and also commanded against Pyrrhus; see § 55. He was famed for his sturdy Roman simplicity and frugality. Tiberius Coruncanius as consul in 280 crushed an Etruscan insurrection. In 252 he became the first plebeian pontifex maximus. These three men are very frequently mentioned together by Cicero, as below, § 43; Lael. 18, l. 11; also § 39.

7 *nihil agebant:* observe that *nihil agebat* is put at the beginning of the first sentence, *nihil agebant* at the end of the second; an example of *chiasmus,* for which see n. on 3, l. 6; and for the repetition of the verbs cf. 17, ll. 24, 25 *non facit...facit.*

§ 16.

A. Claudi: Appius Claudius, the head of the most strongly aristocratic family in Rome, was censor in 311 B.C., when he constructed the *via Appia,* and in 307 and 296 consul. He had to be carried into the senate-house in order to oppose the peace with Pyrrhus.

8 *accedebat ut: accedit* is far oftener followed by a clause with *quod* and indicative than by a clause with *ut* and subjunctive. When the *quod*-clause follows it merely contains a fact looked at as a fact and nothing more, but the *ut*-clause views the fact as consequent upon, or dependent on some other fact. Here the blindness is regarded as being the consequence of old age; though Livy 9, 29, 11 and other authors attribute it to the anger of the gods, because as censor Appius had taken the administration of the worship of Hercules away from the ancient family of the Potitii, and had placed it in the hands of public slaves. The mental vigour of Appius in his old age is mentioned by Cic. in Tusc. 5, 112.

9 *cum Pyrrho:* note the position of the words between *pacem* and *foedus*, with both of which they go. This usage is called by the grammarians *coniunctio;* see exx. in my n. on Lael. 8, l. 22 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi;* also cf. above, l. 2 *quae iuventute geruntur et viribus;* below, 18, l. 31 *quae sint gerenda praescribo et quo modo;* 29, l. 24; cf. also the passages quoted in n. on 1, l. 9 *animi tui.*

foedus: this seems opposed to *pacem* as a formal engagement is to a mere abstention from hostilities.

10 *non dubitavit dicere:* when *dubitare* means 'to hesitate' (about a course of action), and the sentence is *negative* (or an interrogative sentence assuming a negative answer) the infinitive construction generally follows, as here, but the infinitive is rare in a *positive* sentence. When *dubitare* means to 'be in doubt' (as to whether certain statements are true or not), the regular construction is either *quin* with subj. or some form of indirect interrogative clause. Cf. below, 25, l. 30.

[The positive inf. is rare before Nepos, but common after him. Out of more than 170 passages quoted from Cic.'s speeches in Merguet's 'Lexikon', there are not more than 8 or 9 which appear to contradict the rules given above. In Phil. 5, 5 and 5, 37 (after *dubito* = 'hesitate') we have the infinitive construction in positive sentences which are not interrogative, but then the sentences are ironical, so that they are equivalent to negative sentences. In the following places *quin* with subj. appears where we should expect the infinitive, viz. pro imp. Cn. Pomp. 49 and 68; Leg. agr. 2, 69; Mur. 67; Mil. 63. Pro Sulla 4 is not an instance, though sometimes quoted as one. Instances of the infinitive in positive sentences are rare everywhere; *e.g.* there are none in Caesar or in Nepos. But Draeger, Hist. Synt. II[1] p. 327 is wrong in saying that there are none before Q. Curtius. See Publilius Syrus, ed. Ribbeck 528; Sall. Cat. 15, 2; Cic. N. D. 1, 113. The irregular use of *quin* is almost equally rare. The three passages in Caesar, viz. B.G. 2, 2, 4; ib. 3, 23, 7 (*non cunctandum quin*); B.C. 3, 37, 2 are peculiar in containing a gerundive; thus in the last-named passage we have *sibi dubitandum non putavit quin proelio decertaret.*]

versibus persecutus est: 'has followed out in the lines'. Cf. 46, p. 46, l. 5; 55, l. 3; Acad. 1, 12 *Brutus...philosophiam Latinis litteris persequitur.*

12 *quo vobis etc.:* from the *Annales* (see n. on 1, l. 1). In *mentes dementis* we have an *oxymoron* (an intentional contradiction in terms) as in 38, p. 43, l. 2 *sensim sine sensu;* 39, l. 6 *munus...aufert.*

13 *antehac:* always a disyllable in verse, and probably so pronounced in prose.

viai: the old genitive. The reading is not quite certain (see Appendix A), and if *viai* be read it is not altogether certain whether it depends on *quo* or on *sese flexere.* The former construction is easy, the latter a distinct graecism like Horace's *desine querellarum* and the like. The only complete parallel, however, would be Lucretius 1, 1041 *materies aliqua ratione aversa viai*, where Munro construes *aversa* with *viai*, though this seems to me unnecessary, since *aliqua ratione viai* 'some principle guiding its path' makes very good sense.

14 *notum...carmen:* so 61, l. 17.

et tamen: so in l. 19; also 31, l. 9. After Madvig's note on this phrase in Fin. 2, 85 it is surprising that any editor should have proposed to change it here, yet Meissner, Sommerbrodt and Tücking all read *etiam* on Halm's recommendation. The sense is incompletely expressed; in full it is 'and yet there is no need for me to refer to Appius' speech as given by Ennius, since the speech itself is in existence'. Exactly similar ellipses are found with *et tamen* in Fin. 1, 11 and 15; 2, §§ 15, 21, 64 and 85; Att. 7, 3, 10; Lucretius 5, 1177. In Munro's note on the last passage a rich collection of examples will be found.

15 *Appi...oratio:* the speech was known to Cicero, and was one of the oldest monuments of prose composition in Latin extant in his time; see Brut. 61. Plutarch, Pyrrhus 19, gives an account of Appius' speech, which may be founded on the original; he also mentions it in his tract commonly called '*an seni sit gerenda res publica*', c. 21. I see no reason to doubt, as Ihne does (1 521 Eng. ed.) that the speech, as Cic. knew it, was committed to writing by Appius himself.

haec ille egit: 'he made this speech'.

16 *septemdecim annis:* for reading see Appendix A. As the second (*alterum*) consulship was in 296, and the speech in 280, both these years are included in the reckoning by a usage very common in Latin. For the ablative cf. 19, l. 6; 42, l. 10.

17 *interfuissent:* 'had elapsed between'; so 60, l. 8 *interfuerunt.* In this sense *intercedere* is very much more commonly used.

censor...ante consulatum: this was unusual, and therefore to Claudius' honour.

19 *grandem sane:* 'undoubtedly old'. For *grandem* cf. n. on 10, l. 29.

et tamen sic: i.e. eum tum grandem fuisse. For *et tamen* see n. on l. 14; here again Sommerbrodt alters the MSS reading *et tamen sic*, writing for it *eum sicut.* Lahmeyer wrongly says that *sic* points to the words *atque haec ille egit.* It may be noted that *sic* takes the place of an object after *accepimus;* cf. 77, l. 31 *ita crederem;* 78, p. 57, l. 6 *sic mihi persuasi;* also 18, l. 32 *male cogitanti.*

§ 17.

20 *nihil afferunt:* 'they bring forward nothing', *i.e.* what they bring forward is worthless; so in Greek οὐδὲν λέγειν, the opposite of which is λέγειν τι. Cf. 8, l. 10 *est istuc aliquid.*

in re...negant: 'declare that old age has no part in the conduct of affairs', *i.e.* is incapable of taking part.

21 *similes ut si:* a very rare construction, to which I know no exact parallel. Equally unusual is *similes tamquam si* in Div. 2, 131. In Tusc. 4, 41 and Off. 1, 87 we find *similiter ut si*, in Fin. 2, 21 and 4, 31 *similiter* or *similis et si*, in N.D. 3, 8 *similiter ac si;* also in Liv. 5, 5, 12 *dissimilia ac si*, in 35, 42, 10 *idem ac si*. As regards the *ut* after *similes*, we may compare a few passages in which *simul ut* appears for *simul ac;* see my n. on Academ. 2, 51. In the English Bible there are expressions like *similes sunt ut si qui dicant* 'they are like as if some men should say'.

22 *per foros:* 'over the deck'.

23 *ille:* for the omission of *sed* or *autem* (*asyndeton adversativum*) see n. on 3, l. 7.

clavom: 'tiller'. With this passage Lahmeyer well compares what Cicero says of himself in Fam. 9, 15, 3 *sedebamus in puppi et clavom tenebamus; nunc autem vix est in sentina locus.*

24 *non faciat...facit:* for reading see Appendix A.

25 *velocitate:* for reading see Appendix A. *Velocitas* and *celeritas* differ very slightly; the former means rather speed of movement in one line, the latter rather power of rapid motion with frequent change of direction. The emphatic word in this clause is *corporum*. Cf. Off. 1, 79 *honestum... animi efficitur non corporis viribus.*

26 *consilio auctoritate sententia:* so 19, l. 10 *consilio ratione sententia;* 67, l. 19 *mens ratio consilium.*

27 *quibus...solet:* 'while old age does not usually become destitute of these qualities, but grows richer in them'; literally 'is increased by them'.

§ 18.

28 *nisi forte:* commonly used to introduce a possible, but absurd objection to something which has gone before. The verb that follows is always in the indicative; cf. 33, p. 38, l. 33.

miles etc.: 'as common soldier'; see n. on 10, l. 32.

29 *in vario genere:* we use the plural 'in different kinds'. Cf. Acad. 2, 3 *in omni genere belli;* Deiot. 12 *in omni genere bellorum.*

30 *cessare:* cf. n. on 13, p. 34, l. 11.

at senatui etc.: exactly the same ideas are expressed, with the same mention of Cato's activity, in Off. 1, 79.

32 *male cogitanti:* so pro Sulla 70 *nefarie cogitare;* for the use of the adverb cf. n. on 16, l. 19.

multo ante: n. on 6, l. 16.

P. 36.

1 *vereri:* the construction we have here is exceedingly unusual. *Vereor* regularly takes after it an accusative, or else a clause with *ne* or *ut*. I know no exact parallel; the passage most resembling ours is Rab. Post. 10 *omnes qui aliquid de se verebantur;* cf. also Att. 10, 4, 6 *de vita sua metuere;* Verg. Aen. 9, 207 *de te nil tale verebar;* in all these examples the ablative with *de* denotes the quarter threatened, not as in our passage, the quarter from which the threat comes.

exscisam: from *exscindo;* most edd. *excisam*, but to raze a city is *urbem exscindere* not *excidere; e.g.* Rep. 6, 11 *Numantiam exscindes.* So Halm on Sest. 35 *urbem nondum exscisam atque eversam.*

§ 19.

2 *quam palmam etc.:* 'and I pray that the gods will treasure up for you these laurels, that you may follow out the task your grandsire left unfinished'. A prophecy after the event, like that in Rep. 6, 11. For the use of *relliquias* cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 30 *Troas relliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli;* ib. 598; ib. 3, 87.

3 *tertius:* so all our MSS. This places the elder Scipio's death in 183, which agrees with Livy's account in 39, 50, 10. But the year before Cato's censorship was 185 not 183, hence some edd. read *quintus* and some *sextus* in place of *tertius*.

4 *sed memoriam etc.:* 'but all years to come will welcome the memory of that hero'.

5 *anno ante:* n. on 10, l. 30.

6 *novem annis:* as Cato's consulship was in 195 these words also apparently disagree with *tertius* in l. 3. *Novem annis post* means nine *full* years after, *i.e.* 185 not 186; cf. 42, l. 10 *septem annis post.*

7 *num igitur:* so in 21, l. 25; 23, l. 15; 56, l. 23; 76, l. 10.

8 *enim:* implies that the answer 'no' has been given to the question, and proceeds to account for that answer.

excursione: a military term = 'skirmishing'; cf. Div. 2, 26 *sed haec fuerit nobis tamquam levis armaturae prima orationis excursio: nunc comminus agamus, experiamurque si possimus cornua commovere disputationis tuae.*

9 *hastis:* loosely used for *pilis*. The old long Roman *hasta*, whence the name *hastati*, had long before Cato's time been discarded for the *pilum* or short javelin, which was thrown at the enemy from a distance, before the troops closed, and used the sword. Cf. n. on 58, l. 10.

10 *consilio etc:* so 17, l. 26.

11 *consilium:* the repetition of *consilium* in a different sense from that which it had in the sentence before seems to us awkward; but many such repetitions are found in Cicero. *Consilium* corresponds both to 'counsel' and 'council'; the senate was originally *regium consilium*, the king's body of advisers. Here translate *summum consilium* 'the supreme deliberative body'.

12 *senatum:* 'assembly of elders'. Cf. 56, l. 17 *senatores, id est senes. Senatus* implies a lost verb *senā-re*, to be or grow old, from the stem of which both *senā-tus* and *senā-tor* are derived. This stem again implies a lost noun or adjective *senus*, old. The word *senatus* was collective, like *comitatus*, a body of companions, *exercitus*, a trained band, *etc.*

§ 20.

amplissimum: 'most honourable'.

13 *ut sunt...senes:* the Spartan γερουσία (as it is commonly called) consisted of 28 members, all over 60 years of age. Herodotus uses the term γέροντες (*senes*) for this assembly; Xenophon γεροντία. In the Laconian dialect γερωΐα was its name; we also find γεροντεύειν 'to be a senator'. For *ut...sic* cf. Academ. 2, 14 *similiter vos cum perturbare, ut illi rem publicam, sic vos philosophiam velitis;* also Lael. 19 *hos viros bonos ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus.*

14 *audire:* like ἀκούω, used especially of historical matters, since instruction in them was almost entirely oral. Cf. ἀνήκοος = 'ignorant of history'; see my n. on Lael. 41, l. 12; also below, 26, l. 25.

externa: 'the history of foreign peoples'; the opposite of *domestica* (12, l. 29) or *nostra* (82, l. 14).

15 *adulescentibus:* Cic. was possibly thinking, when he wrote this, of Athens and Alcibiades.

labefactatas: observe that the verb *labefacio* is foreign to good prose, in which *labefacto* is used.

sustentatas: Cic. does not use *sustentus*. In Mur. 3 *sustinenda* is followed by *sustentata* in the same sentence.

17 *cedo...cito:* the line is of the kind called tetrameter iambic acatalectic (or octonarius), and is scanned thus:

– ⏑ ⏑́ | – –́ | – –́ | ⏑ – || – –́ | – – | – –́ | ⏑́ –.

[In all kinds of iambic verse the old Romans freely introduced spondees where the Greeks used iambi; so in hexameters spondees for dactyls. Ennius achieved more than one line, which, according to his own principles, might be scanned either as a hexameter or as an iambic trimeter; thus: *cives Romani tunc sunt facti Campani.*]

cĕdo: = *dic;* generally derived from *ce*, the enclitic particle involved in *hic* = (*hi-ce*) *etc.* and *da*—the root of *do*. So *cette* = *ce-dăte* = *cedte*, then *cette* by assimilation of *d* to *t*. The original meaning would thus be 'give here', and in this sense the word is often used. *Dare* is commonly

put for *dicere*, as *accipere* is for *audire*. For readings in this line and in the whole passage down to *adulescentuli* see Appendix A.

tantam:=τοσαύτην οὖσαν.

18 *percontantur*: the commonly found spelling *percunctari* is wrong.

Naevi: Naevius lived about 264—194 B.C. His great work (see § 50) was a history of the First Punic War written in Saturnian verse, the rude indigenous metre of early Roman poetry. He also wrote plays—tragedies and comedies (both *palliatae* and *praetextae*). For an account of him see Cruttwell's 'History of Roman literature'. If *Ludo* be read, it may either be from the Latin *ludus* (Naevius entitled a comedy *Ludius*) or from Λυδός, Lydian.

poetae: Naevius seems to have been in the habit of adding *poeta* to his name. It appears in the well-known epitaph said to have been written by himself, also in the lines written against him by the family poet of the Metelli: '*malum dabunt Metelli Naevio poetae*'. The name *poeta* was new in Naevius' time and was just displacing the old Latin name *vates*; see Munro on Lucr. 1, 102.

19 *et alia et hoc*: ἄλλα τε καὶ τόδε.

20 *proveniebant etc.*: the same metre as before, the first foot being a dactyl (or possibly a spondee, *i* in *proveniebant* having the sound of *y* and *e* being lengthened by position), the fifth an iambus (*novi*), the sixth a dactyl. The whole line has the look of being translated from the Greek: προὔβαινον (εἰς τὸ βῆμα) ῥήτορες καινοί τινες, μειράκια γελοῖα. Lahmeyer takes *proveniebant* differently, comparing Plin. Ep. 1, 13, 1 *magnum proventum* ('crop') *poetarum annus hic attulit*; Sall. Cat. 8, 3 *provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia*.

21 *videlicet*: 'you see'.

florentis...senescentis: *chiasmus*; see n. on 3, l. 6.

§ 21.

23 *at*: ἀλλὰ γάρ, used, as in 32, l. 25; 35, l. 18; 47, l. 8; 65, l. 23; 68, ll. 25 and 28, to introduce the supposed objection of an opponent.

credo: 'of course'. Cf. 47, l. 9 where *credo* follows *at* as here.

exerceas: the subject is the indefinite 'you' equivalent to 'one', τὶς: 'unless one were to practise it'. So 28, l. 16 *nequeas*; 33, l. 32 *requiras*. Cf. also Plin. Ep. 8, 14, 3 *difficile est tenere quae acceperis, nisi exerceas*.

24 *tardior*: 'unusually dull'; cf. Academ. 2, 97 *Epicurus quem isti tardum putant*.

Themistocles: famed for his memory; see my n. on Academ. 2, 2.

25 *civium*: 'fellow-countrymen'; *perceperat*: 'had grasped' or 'mastered'. For the separation of *civium* from *nomina* see n. on 3, l. 9.

censetis: cf. my n. on Lael. 14, l. 29.

26 *processisset:* so 50, p. 47, l. 5; also *aetate provehi* (10, l. 30), *progredi* (33, l. 33), also 70, l. 13 *procedere* without *aetate.* The ablative is one of 'respect'; see n. on 24, l. 25.

qui...solitum: 'that he often addressed as Lysimachus some one who for all that was Aristides'. The direct object of *salutare* is omitted. For *qui=tametsi is* cf. Att. 1, 13, 3 *nosmet ipsi, qui Lycurgei fuissemus, cotidie demitigamur;* De Or. 1, 82 *namque egomet qui sero ac leviter Graecas litteras attigissem, tamen...;* Lael. 7, l. 18, with my n.

Lysimachum: for *ut L.* or *pro Lysimacho.* So Arch. 19 *Homerum Chii suum vindicant* (=*ut suum* or *pro suo*). Lysimachus was the father of Aristides.

27 *sunt:=vivont,* as often; so in 32, l. 22 *esse=vivere;* 54, l. 28 *fuit =vixit;* 56, l. 17; 60, l. 6; 69, l. 33.

28 *sepulcra legens:* Cato was a great antiquarian; cf. 38, l. 22.

quod aiunt:=τὸ λεγόμενον, 'as the common saying has it'. See my n. on Lael. 19, l. 16; cf. also 49, l. 26 *ut dicitur.*

29 *in memoriam redeo mortuorum:* the genitive as with *memini, recordari etc.* For the phrase cf. Verr. 1, 120 *redite in memoriam, iudices, quae libido istius fuerit;* also below, 59, l. 29 *in gratiam redire cum voluptate.* Here translate 'I refresh my memory of the dead'.

30 *quemquam senem:* it is true that the best writers do not use *quisquam* as an adjective, but there is no need to alter *senem* into *senum* as some editors do, since *senem* is a substitute for a clause *cum senex esset* (see n. on 26, l. 22 *senex*); 'I never heard that anybody because he was an old man...'. *Senes* must be so taken in 22, l. 2, since *pontifices etc.* cannot stand as adjectives; so also in 26, l. 12 *sapientes senes;* 84, l. 18 *nemo vir.* Cf. n. on 10, l. 32 *adulescentulus miles.*

31 *oblitum:* for the omission of *esse* cf. n. on 22, l. 13.

quae curant: 'the things they have at heart'.

P. 37.

1 *vadimonia:* 'their appointments to appear in court, the debts due to them and the debts they owe'. When the hearing of a suit had to be adjourned, the defendant was bound over either on his own recognisance merely (*pure*) or along with sureties (*vades*) to appear in court on the day appointed for the next hearing, a sum or sums of money being forfeited in case of his non-appearance. The engagement to appear was technically called *vadimonium;* when the defendant entered into the engagement he was said *vadimonium promittere;* if he kept the engagement, *v. obire* or *sistere;* if he failed in it, *v. deserere.* The plural *vadimonia* is here used because a number of suits are meant; the word *constituta* is chosen as a more general term than *promissa,* and as referring to the circumstances of both plaintiff and defendant. Strictly speaking it is the presiding judge who *vadimonia constituit.* On this account *vadimonia constituta* should be translated as above 'appointments' and not '*bonds*' or '*engagements* to appear in court'.

quis sibi: note the avoidance of *chiasmus* in *quis sibi...cui ipsi* and cf. n. on 26, l. 15.

§ 22.

2 *quid...senes: sc. tibi videntur;* 'what do you think of old men as lawyers *etc.?*' So without ellipse, Fam. 9, 21, 1 *quid tibi ego in epistulis videor?* Cf. *quid qui* in 26, l. 19; *quid quod* in 83, l. 29.

3 *ingenia: =suum cuique ingenium*, and therefore not (as some editors have understood it) an instance of the plural used to express an abstract idea ('genius'). Trans. 'old men retain their wits'.

4 *studium et industria:* 'earnestness and activity'; decidedly not a case of hendiadys, as some editors make it. Cf. n. on 15, p. 35, l. 2.

neque ea solum: =οὐδὲ ταῦτα μόνον, 'and that not only'. For the reading *claris* (MSS and edd. *in claris*) see Appendix A. See critical note.

5 *honoratis:* this does not correspond to our 'honoured', but implies that the persons have held high offices (*honores*); cf. 61, l. 23 *senectus honorata praesertim.* Here translate 'statesmen'.

in vita...quieta: 'in an unofficial and retired life'. We have *chiasmus* here (see n. on 3, l. 6) since *privata* is contrasted with *honoratis* and *quieta* with *claris.*

6 *summam senectutem:* Sophocles died at the age of 90 in 405 B.C.

7 *quod propter studium:* 'from his devotion to this occupation'.

8 *filiis:* except Plutarch (*an seni sit gerenda res publica* 3 ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν) who probably follows Cicero's words, all the authorities tell the story of the poet's eldest son Iophon only. The tale is full of improbabilities.

9 *rem: =rem familiarem* as in 1, l. 6, where see n.

patribus bonis interdici solet: 'fathers are often prevented from managing their property'. For the construction cf. the expression *interdicere alicui aqua et igni.* The fragment of the XII tables here referred to is thus given in Dirksen's edition: *sei fouriosos aut prodicos* (*prodigus*) *escit* (*erit*) *adcnatorum centiliomque* (*gentiliumque*) *eius potestas estod, i.e.* the agnates (male relatives whose kinship with the *furiosus* is derived through males) and members of his *gens* are to administer his property. We still possess the form in which the judgment was made by the *praetor urbanus* (Paulus, Sent. 3, 4^a 7): '*quando tibi tua bona paterna avitaque nequitia tua disperdis liberosque tuos ad egestatem perducis, ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico*'.

10 *quasi desipientem:* 'ὡς παραφρονοῦντα' says the author of the anonymous life of Sophocles. Cf. Xenophon Mem. 1, 2, 49 κατὰ νόμον ἐξεῖναι παρανοίας ἑλόντι καὶ τὸν πατέρα δῆσαι.

11 *in manibus habebat:* 'had on hand' *i.e.* in preparation. So 38, l. 21 *septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus;* but *est in manibus* in 12, l. 23 has a different meaning.

12 *proxime:* 'recently'.

scripserat: he had written it but not finally corrected it.

recitasse: the common version of the story states that not the whole play was read but only the fine chorus beginning εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾶσδε χώρας.

14 *videretur: sc. esse;* the infinitive is often thus omitted after verbs of desiring, thinking *etc.*, also verbs of speaking and hearing; cf. Lael. 18 *eam sapientiam interpretantur;* ib. 29 *quam natam volunt;* ib. 64 *homines ex maxime raro genere iudicare;* Acad. 2, 12 *viderenturne ea Philonis;* also above, 13, p. 34, l. 6; 21, l. 31; below, 36, p. 42, l. 3; 43, l. 20; 59, p. 51, l. 1; 63, l. 6.

liberatus: 'acquitted'; more commonly *absolutus.*

§ 23.

15 *Hesiodum:* see n. on 54, l. 26.

Simoniden: Simonides of Ceos (not S. of Amorgos), one of the greatest Greek lyric writers, lived from 556 to about 469 B.C.

16 *Stesichorum:* of Himera in Sicily, also a lyric poet; lived from about 630 to about 556 B.C.

quos ante dixi: n. on 14, l. 16.

Isocraten Gorgian: nn. on 13, p. 34, ll. 7 and 10.

17 *philosophorum principes:* 'in the first rank of philosophers'.

Pythagoran: neither the date of his birth nor that of his death can be determined; he 'flourished' about 530. He lived mostly in the Greek settlements of lower Italy, where his school existed for some centuries after his death.

Democritum: of Abdera, one of the founders of the theory of atoms; said to have lived from 460 to 361 or 357 B.C.

18 *Platonem:* see above, 13, p. 34, l. 6.

Xenocraten: after Plato, Speusippus was the first head of the Academic School; Xenocrates succeeded him. He lived from 397 to 315 or 313.

Zenonem: of Citium in Cyprus, founder of Stoicism, born about 357; is said to have lived to the age of 98.

Cleanthen: he immediately followed Zeno in the presidency of the Stoic school. His age at death is variously given as 99 and as 80 years.

19 *quem vidistis:* see Introd. p. 23. It is rather curious that Cic. should make Cato speak with admiration of Diogenes, to whom he had shewn great hostility.

Diogenen: Cic. probably wrote in *-an, -en,* not in *-am, -em* the accusatives of Greek proper names in *-as, -es.*

20 *Stoicum:* to distinguish him from Diogenes the Cynic.

coegit ... obmutiscere: 'did age force into silence concerning their favourite occupations?'

an: n. on 15, p. 35, l. 1.

21 *studiorum...fuit:* 'was the pursuit of their occupations carried on as long as life lasted?'—literally 'was it coeval with life?' Cic. uses *agitatio* and *actio* almost interchangeably; cf. *agitatio rerum* in De Or. 3, 88 with *actio rerum* in Acad. 2, 62 and elsewhere. [*Actus* in this sense only occurs in silver Latin.]

§ 24.

age: a common form of transition to a new subject; brief for '*hoc age*', 'do this', *i.e.* 'attend to this that I am going to say'. The common use of ἄγε in Greek is exactly similar.

ut...omittamus: the sentence is really elliptic, *ut* depending on words not expressed: '*in order* that we may pass to a new subject, (I tell you this, *viz.*) *possum etc.*' Cf. n. on 52, p. 48, l. 1.

22 *possum nominare:* 'I am able to name'; in ordinary English 'I *might* name'. The Latins also occasionally use a hypothetical form, where *possim* or *possem* stands in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is not expressed; but the missing protasis is generally easily supplied and was distinctly present to the writer's mind. *E.g.* in Tusc. 1, 88 we have *dici hoc in te non potest; posset in Tarquinio; at in mortuo ne intellegi quidem* (*potest*), where the reason for the change from *potest* to *posset* is quite evident. In translating from English into Latin it is far safer to use the indicative. Cf. 55, l. 3 *possum persequi.*

ex agro...Romanos; 'country-bred Romans (*i.e.* Roman citizens) belonging to the Sabine district'. The words *ex agro Sabino* form an attributive phrase qualifying *Romanos* just as *rusticos* does. Cf. n. on 7, l. 33; also on Lael. 20, l. 2.

24 *numquam fere:* 'scarcely ever'.

maiora opera: 'farm-work of any importance'. This use of *opera* is common in Vergil's Georgics.

25 *non:* the repetition of the negative after *numquam* is common in Latin; in English *never...not* is only found in dialects. Cf. Lael. 48 *angor iste non tantum valet ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes repudientur;* also below, 27, l. 29.

serendis: ablative of respect; 'as regards sowing'. See Roby § 1210; Kennedy § 149.

percipiendis: so 70, l. 17; cf. N. D. 2, 156 *neque enim serendi neque colendi, nec tempestive demetendi percipiendique fructus, neque condendi nec reponendi ulla pecudum scientia est.*

26 *quamquam:* see n. on 2, l. 17.

in aliis: for the neuter adjective as substantive see n. on 3, l. 6 *ceteris*, where also we have the same *proleptic* use.

27 *annum:* cf. n. on 10, l. 30.

idem: a better form of the plural than *iidem*, commonly found in our texts. For the usage here cf. n. on 4, l. 28.

28 *pertinere:* present for future: 'in which he knows he will have no share'.

29 *serit...prosint:* I have given the line as Ribbeck prints it. He scans it as a '*baccheus*', consisting of four feet with the measurement ⏑ – –, the last syllable of *saeclo* seeming to be shortened. Cicero quotes the same line in Tusc. 1, 31 adding *ut ait Statius* (the word *Statius* however is not in the MSS) *in Synephebis, quid spectans nisi etiam postera saecla ad se pertinere?* *Saeclo*='generation', as in 54, l. 28.

30 *Statius noster:* 'our fellow-countryman Statius'. So Arch. 22 *Ennius noster.* Caecilius Statius, born among the Insubres, wrote Latin comedies which were largely borrowed from the Greek of Menander. The original of the *Synephebi* was Menander's Συνέφηβοι 'young comrades'.

§ 26.

nec dubitat respondere: see n. on 16, l. 10.

31 *quaerenti...respondere:* cf. 72, p. 55, l. 3 *quaerenti...respondisse.*

dis: the spellings *diis*, *dii* which many recent editors still keep, are most probably incorrect; at all events it is certain that the nominative and ablative plural of *deus* formed *monosyllables*, except occasionally in poetry, where *dei*, *deis* were used. Even these *dissyllabic* forms scarcely occur before Ovid.

32 *immortalibus:* Cic. rarely mentions the gods without adding the epithet; so below, 77, l. 27.

P. 38.

1 *et:* emphatic at the beginning of a sentence: 'aye, and'.

melius: sc. dixit; cf. n. on 3, l. 15.

de sene etc.: 'his lines on the old man who has an eye to the coming generation'. *Saeculo* is a so-called *dativus commodi.*

2 *idem: īdem* not *ĭdem;* so in l. 7 *idem Caecilius.*

3 *edepol:* literally, 'ah, god Pollux,' *e* being an interjection, *de* a shortened form of the vocative of *deus*, *pol* abbreviated from *Pollux*. The asseveration is almost confined to comedy. The lines come from a play by Statius called *Plocium* (πλόκιον 'necklace'), copied from one by Menander with the same title. See Ribbeck's 'Fragmenta.'

nil quicquam: since *quisquam* rarely occurs as an adjective (n. on 21, l. 30), this usage must be compared with the common expression *nemo homo*, and the like, where we find two substantival words placed side by side; so *adulescentulus miles* in 10, l. 32, where see n.

viti: see n. on 1, l. 3 *praemi.* *Viti* here=*mali;* cf. Ter. Andr. 73 (qu. by Allen) *ei vereor ne quid Andria adportet mali.*

4 *sat est:* so in 48, l. 24. *Sat* for *satis* in Cicero's time was old-fashioned and poetical.

5 *quod diu:* these words must be scanned as a spondee. The *i* in *diu* here probably had the sound of our *y*. Allen well compares a line of Publilius Syrus (Ribbeck 212) *heu quam multa paenitenda incurrunt vivendo diu.*

non volt: the subject, being perfectly indefinite, is missed out, as often: cf. 72, p. 54, l. 32 *recteque in ea* (*senectute*) *vivitur, quoad munus offici exsequi possit;* 74, l. 26.

videt: Tischer qu. Herod. 1, 32 (speech of Solon to Croesus) ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μέν ἐστιν ἰδέειν, τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθέειν.

7 *illud:* 'the following passage'.

8 *vitiosius:* *i.e. loquitur;* see n. on 3, l. 15.

9 *tum equidem etc.:* these lines, as well as those above, occurred in a play of Statius called *Ephesio:* see Ribbeck's 'Fragmenta'.

senecta: not used by prose writers before the time of silver Latin.

deputo: this compound is used by the dramatists and then does not occur again till late Latin times.

10 *eumpse:* like *ipse* and *reapse* (for which see my n. on Lael. 47) this word contains the enclitic particle *pe* (probably another form of *que*), found in *nem-pe, quis-p-iam etc.* along with *se*, which belongs to an old demonstrative pronoun once declined *sos, sa, sum* (the masc. and fem. of which are seen in ὁ, ἡ). The form was no doubt originally *eumpsom*, like *ipsom* (*ipsum*), but has passed into its present form just as *ipsos* (nom.) has become *ipso*, then *ipse*. The only difference in sense between *eumpse* and the simple *eum* is that the former is more emphatic. The pronoun *eumpse* is the subject of the infinitive *sentire*, but the substantive to which the pronoun refers (*senex*) is not expressed. [Possibly Caecilius wrote *in senecione hoc puto*.] Cf. below l. 16 *senectus...cuiusque;* also n. on 14, l. 19.

odiosum: 'troublesome'; cf. n. on 4, l. 22.

§ 26.

11 *iucundum...odiosum:* elliptic = '*iucundum*' *potius quam* '*odiosum*' *senem esse dicendum est.*

ut...delectantur: cf. Lael. 101 *hac nos adulescentes benevolentia senes illos...dileximus...vicissim autem senes in adulescentium caritate acquiescimus;* also below, 29, ll. 16, 17.

12 *sapientes senes:* neither of these words is used as an adjective here; the whole expression here = *sapientes, cum facti sunt senes.* Cf. n. on 21, l. 30 *quemquam senem.*

levior: the edd. qu. a fragm. of Callimachus: γηράσκει δ' ὁ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφρότερον, τὸν κοῦροι φιλέουσι.

13 *coluntur et diliguntur:* so in 83, l. 33 *colui et dilexi. Colere* rather implies the external marks of respect (cf. *coli* in 7, l. 29), *diligere* the inner feeling of affection. See also 10, l. 29.

14 *praeceptis etc.:* cf. Off. 1, 122 *ineuntis enim aetatis inscitia senum constituenda et regenda prudentia est.*

15 *me...iucundos:* put for *me iucundum esse quam vos mihi estis iucundi.* The attraction of a finite verb into the infinitive after *quam* is not uncommon; cf. Roby 1784 *b.*; also n. on 1, l. 12 *quibus me ipsum. Minus,* be it observed, does not qualify *intellego,* but *iucundos.* Here we have *chiasmus* avoided; *i.e.* we have *me vobis quam mihi vos* instead of *me vobis quam vos mihi;* so in 21, p. 37, l. 1; 15, p. 35, l. 7; 33, l. 32; 46, l. 30; 60, l. 11; 68, l. 27.

16 *sed:* here *analeptic, i.e.* it introduces a return to the subject proper after a digression; so in 31, l. 11.

videtis, ut...sit: here *ut=quo modo,* and must be translated not by 'that', but by 'how'. So in 31, l. 3.

senectus...cuiusque: the abstract *senectus* is put for *senes* as in 34, l. 15; hence *cuiusque, sc. senis.* So above, l. 7 *adulescentia=adulescentes;* so also below, 46, l. 28 and 48, l. 17 and 66, l. 6 *aetas.*

17 *languida atque iners:* 'feeble and indolent'.

18 *agens aliquid:* this phrase differs from *agat* in that while the subjunctive would express the *fact* of action, the participial phrase expresses rather the constant *tendency* to act. *Agens aliquid* forms a sort of attribute to *senectus,* parallel with *operosa.* If *aliquid* had been left out, *agens* would have been a pure adjective; cf. De Or. 2, 358 *imaginibus agentibus,* where Ellendt rightly says that these participial adjectives in Latin take the place of the Greek adjectives in -ικός, so that *agens*=δραστικός; cf. also Brut. 317 *acrem oratorem incensum et agentem;* also below, 61, l. 18 *esset consentiens.* But as Cicero very rarely uses absolutely (like our phrase 'to act') the finite tenses and infinitives of the verb *agere,* so with the participles active and the gerund an accusative (often *aliquid*) is generally added; cf. Academ. 1, 23; 2, 25; 2, 37; Off. 3, 102; Fam. 4, 6, 3; Liv. 1, 21, 1. It is omitted in N. D. 2, 132; Off. 1, 157; 2, 3; De Or. 3, 118; Acad. 2, 22; Velleius 2, 88, 2. Sometimes, as in Off. 1, 160 *agere considerate,* an adverb supplies the place of an accusative. *Moliri* differs from *agere* in that it implies the bringing into existence of some object. Cf. Off. 3, 102 *eorum qui deum semper agere aliquid et moliri volunt;* Acad. 2, 22 *cum artium aliud eius modi genus sit ut moliatur aliquid et faciat;* N. D. 1, 2 *utrum di nihil agant, nihil moliantur;* Mur. 82 *id quod et agant et moliantur.*

19 *quid...aliquid:* 'what of those who actually go on learning something?' For the ellipse in *quid qui* cf. n. on 22, l. 2. *Addiscunt*=προμανθάνουσι, learn *on and on, go on* learning. [The verb προμανθάνειν is absurdly explained in Liddell and Scott to mean 'to learn beforehand' and so 'to learn thoroughly'. When Prometheus in Aeschylus says

προὔμαθον στέργειν κακοῖς, does he mean 'when I was fortunate I learned to bear misfortune'?]

20 *ut...videmus*: put, as Allen observes, for *ut Solo fecit, quem videmus.*

Solonem: see also § 50. The line (*versibus* here is an exaggeration; in 50, l. 15 it is *versiculus*) is preserved by Plato in his Timaeus and by Plutarch, Sol. 31 γηράσκω δ' ἀεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. The age of Solon at his death is variously given as 80 or 100 years.

videmus: the Latins frequently use 'we see' for 'we read'. See my n. on Lael. 39, l. 24, also below, 69, p. 53, l. 33 *ut scriptum video.*

22 *senex*: *i.e. cum senex essem*; so 27, l. 29 *adulescens desiderabam*; 30, l. 31 *memini puer*; 39, l. 10; 50, p. 47, l. 9; cf. also n. on 21, l. 30 *quemquam senem.*

quas quidem: n. on 14, l. 19.

sic: this word does not qualify *avide*, but refers on to *quasi*, so that *sic...quasi cupiens*='thus, *viz.* like one desiring'. Cf. n. on 12, l. 30 *ita cupide fruebar quasi*; also 35, l. 28 *tamquam...sic*; 82, l. 25 *ita...quasi.* *Quasi* serves to soften the metaphor in *sitim*; cf. my n. on Lael. 3, l. 2.

23 *cupiens*: after *quasi* a finite verb (*cuperem*) would have been more usual; so in 12, l. 30 *ita...quasi divinarem.* Cf. however 22, l. 10 *quasi desipientem.*

ea ipsa mihi: for the juxtaposition of pronouns (which is rather sought after in Latin), cf. 72, p. 55, l. 6 *ipsa suum eadem quae.*

24 *exemplis*:=*pro exemplis*, or *exemplorum loco* (cf. n. on 21, l. 26 *Lysimachum*), so that those editors are wrong who say that we have here an example of the antecedent thrust into the relative clause, as though *ea ipsa quibus exemplis* were put for *ea ipsa exempla quibus.*

quod:=*ut cum iam senex esset disceret.*

25 *Socraten*: Cic. probably learned this fact from Plato's Menexenus 235 E and Euthydemus 272 C where Connus is named as the teacher of Socrates in music. In the Euthydemus Socrates says that the boys attending Connus' lessons laughed at him and called Connus γεροντοδιδάσκαλον. Cf. also Fam. 9, 22, 3 *Socraten fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen; is Connus vocitatus est*; Val. Max. 8, 7, 8 *Socratem constat aetate provectum fidibus tractandis operam dare coepisse, satius iudicantem eius artis usum sero quam numquam percipere.*

in fidibus: 'in the case of the lyre.' Tücking qu. Quintilian 9, 2, 5 *quod in fidibus fieri videmus.* The Greek word *cithara* is not used by Cicero and does not become common in Latin *prose* till long after Cicero's time, though he several times uses the words *citharoedus, citharista*, when referring to Greek professional players. [Cornificius ad Herenn. 4, 60 has *cithara.*] The word *lyra* too is rare in early prose; it occurs in Tusc. 1, 4 in connexion with a Greek, where in the same sentence *fides* is used as an equivalent.

audirem: for *audio*=*legendo cognoscere* see n. on 20, l. 14.

vellem: sc. si possem; so in 32, l. 12 we find *vellem equidem* followed by *sed tamen* as here, then in l. 24 *mallem.* For instances of incomplete conditional sentences, where the protasis is suppressed, cf. my n. on Lael. 4, l. 24; also see above, 24, l. 22 n. and below, 32, l. 12; 33, l. 31. In Tusc. 1, 98 we find the missing protasis to *vellem* supplied—*equidem saepe emori, si fieri posset, vellem.*

26 *discebant...antiqui:* doubts have been felt as to the genuineness of the clause. In Tusc. 4, 3 a passage of Cato is quoted which refers to the use of the *tibia* among the ancient Romans; immediately afterwards the antiquity of practice on the *fides* at Rome is mentioned, though not expressly on Cato's authority. The words cannot be said to be unsuited either to the person or to the occasion.

discebant fidibus: the verb *canere* (which means 'to play' as well as 'to sing') must be supplied; *fidibus* is then an ablative of the means or instrument. There is the same ellipse of *canere* in the phrases *docere fidibus* (Fam. 9, 22, 3) and *scire fidibus* (Terence, Eunuchus 133). Cf. Roby 1217.

in litteris elaboravi: so above, 24, l. 28 *in eis elaborant quae.*

§ 27.

28 *ne...quidem:* these two words together correspond to the Greek *οὐδὲ* (*οὐ=ne, δὲ=quidem*), and had better be translated here by 'nor' rather than by 'not even.' The rendering 'not even', though required by some passages, will often misrepresent the Latin; for a striking example see my n. on Academica 1, 5 *ne a nobis quidem.* Here no special emphasis is intended to be laid on the word *nunc.*

viris adulescentis: 'the strength of a young man'. *Adulescentiae* might have been expected, but cf. 22, l. 13 *carmen desipientis.*

is enim etc.: 'for this was the second of the commonplaces concerning the defects of age'; referring to 15, l. 30 *alteram quod faciat corpus infirmius:* cf. 39, l. 5 *sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis;* 66, l. 5 *quarta restat causa etc. Locus* (like *τόπος* in Greek) is a rhetorical term with a technical meaning. The pleader is to anticipate the arguments he may find it necessary to use in different cases and is to arrange them under certain heads; each head is called a *τόπος* or *locus,* literally meaning the *place* where a pleader is to look for an argument when wanted. Hence *locus* came to mean 'a cut-and-dried argument' or 'commonplace'. It is of exceedingly frequent occurrence in Cicero's rhetorical writings.

29 *non plus quam:* '*any* more than'. After the negative above (*ne*) it is impossible to translate *non* by a negative in English, though the repetition of the negative is common enough in Latin (as indeed it is in English dialects). Cf. n. on 24, l. 25.

30 *quod est: sc. tibi,* 'what you have', so Paradoxa 18 and 52 *satis esse, quod est.*

31 *quidquid agis:* all MSS and editions hitherto have *agas,* which I have unhesitatingly altered because (1) the subjunctive does not occur in

Cicero after *quisquis*, *quicumque*, *ubi* and the like unless in *oratio obliqua* or by the attraction of the indicative into the mood of a neighbouring subjunctive, (2) *agas* would be doubly peculiar after *quod est*. See a valuable note by Kühner on Tusc. 1, 110, whose conclusions are entirely confirmed by my own reading. Thus in De Or. 3, 201 the clause *quibuscumque verbis uti velis* is parallel with and influenced by the preceding conditional clause *si verba mutaris*. Examples of subjunctives after *quicumque etc.* from authors later than Cicero will be found in Roby 1716.

pro viribus: 'as your strength permits'; so the phrases *pro virili parte*, *portione*.

vox: 'utterance'; the word is used only of speeches in some way specially remarkable.

P. 39.

1 *contemptior*: 'more pitiable'. For the meaning of *contemnere* see n. on 43, l. 32. The passive participle has the sense of an adjective in *-bilis*, like *invictus* and many others.

Milonis: the most famous of the Greek athletes. He lived at the end of the sixth century B.C. and the praises of his victories were sung by Simonides. It was under his leadership that his native city Croton, in Magna Graecia, attacked and destroyed Sybaris. Many stories are told by the ancients about his feats of strength (see § 33), and about his power of consuming food. He is said to have been a prominent disciple of Pythagoras.

2 *in curriculo*: ἐν σταδίῳ, 'on the race-course'.

3 *illacrimans*: beware of spelling *lacrima* either with *ch* for *c* or *y* for *i*; common as these spellings are in texts printed in England, they are utterly without justification. The *y* rests on the absurd assumption that the Latins borrowed their word *lacrima* straight from the Greek δάκρυ.

dixisse: things like *dicitur dixisse* are exceedingly rare in good Latin. Cicero nearly always uses two different verbs; *i.e.* he says *aiunt dicere* and the like. See my note on Arch. 20.

at: there is an ellipse here such as 'these young men's muscles are powerful but...'. This elliptic use of *at* is common in sudden exclamations of grief, annoyance, surprise *etc.*; cf. 49, l. 24.

4 *vero*: this is common in emphatic replies, whether the reply convey assent, or be as here, a retort. [The usage is excellently illustrated in Nägelsbach's Stilistik § 197, 2.]

tam: *sc. mortui sunt.*

nugator: Allen: '*Catoniana vox*: Gell. 11, 8, 4'. *Nugari*= ληρεῖν, 'to trifle'.

5 *ex te*: Cato here identifies a man's *person* with his soul and intellect, the body being regarded as a mere dress; cf. Rep. 6, 26 *mens cuiusque is*

est quisque. Ex te, literally, 'out of yourself', *i.e.* 'from your real self's resources'.

lateribus: 'lungs'; see n. on 14, l. 24.

6 *nihil...nihil...nihil:* cf. n. on 13, p. 34, l. 3.

Aelius: his *cognomen* was Paetus; he was consul in 198, and censor in 194 B.C. He was one of the earliest and one of the most famous writers on Roman Law. His great commentary on the XII tables is often referred to by Cicero, who several times quotes Ennius' line about him—*egregie cordatus homo catus Aelius Sextus.*

tale: sc. dixit. Cf. n. on 3, l. 15.

7 *Coruncanius:* n. on 15, p. 35, l. 6.

P. Crassus: consul in 205 B.C. with the elder Africanus; pontifex maximus from 212 to his death in 183. He was famed both as a lawyer (see below, 50, p. 47, l. 6; also Liv. 30, 1, 5 *iuris pontifici peritissimus*) and as a statesman (see 61, l. 19). *Modo* therefore covers a space of at least 33 years, so that it cannot well be translated by our 'lately'; say rather 'nearer our time'. The amount of time implied by *modo* and *nuper* depends entirely on the context; for *modo* see Lael. 6, l. 32 with my note, for *nuper* below, n. on 61, l. 19, where it is used of Crassus as *modo* is here.

8 *praescribebantur:* the meaning is that these lawyers practised in old age as jurisconsults; *i.e.* according to old Roman custom, they gave audience in the early hours of the day to all who chose to consult them about legal difficulties.

usque ad extremum spiritum: so 38, l. 17 *usque ad ultimum spiritum.*

est provecta: literally 'was carried forward', *i.e.* 'continued', 'remained'. Some editors (as Sommerbrodt) wrongly take the phrase to mean 'made progress' 'increased', a sense which would require the imperfect (*provehebatur*).

9 *prudentia:* here, as often, 'legal skill'.

§ 28.

orator: the placing of the subject to the verb of the dependent clause outside the clause gives it emphasis; cf. 34, l. 6 n.

senectute: causal ablative; not 'in age', but 'owing to age'.

10 *est enim:* 'since his function depends not merely on his ability but also on his lungs and his muscles'. For *laterum* see n. on 14, l. 24.

11 *omnino—sed tamen:* 'no doubt—but still'. *Omnino* (literally 'altogether') has two almost exactly opposite uses—(1) the affirmative (cf. 9, l. 18), (2) the concessive use which we have here and in 45, l. 17. The circumstance which is contrasted (with the admitted circumstance) is usually introduced by *sed tamen* or *sed* (as in 45, l. 17), but in Lael. 98 by the less emphatic *autem*, while in Lael. 69 there is no introductory particle.

12 change

adhuc is thrown both view that *nondu* Cato *expected* to lose the

13 *et videtis:* 'though you see m *autem* or *tamen*) after the negative there are few examples of the usage *amicitia nihil fictum est et quidquid est* as above, 13, p. 34, l. 9; also Lael. 30 *ut se posita iudicet.*

seni: for reading see Appendix A. In L the great change which advancing years had impassioned oratory. He was no doubt think he wrote the words we have here.

sermo: 'style of speaking'; a word of wide which only denotes *public* speaking.

14 *quietus et remissus:* 'subdued and gentle'. T up in *remissus* (which occurs also in 81, l. 6) refers tight-stretched string; cf. *intentum etc.* in 37, l. 11 the whole passage cf. Plin. Ep. 3, 1, 2 *nam iuvenes c dam et quasi turbata non indecent; senibus placida convenIunt.*

facit audientiam: 'procures of itself a hearing for *per se ipsa* there is no doubt an allusion to the custom in ancient times whereby the *praeco* or κῆρυξ called listen to the speakers. Cf. Liv. 43, 16, 8 *Graccho dice cum Claudio obstreperetur praeconem audientiam facer* πεῖν in Eur. H. F. 962) *iussit.* Note that this is the only the word *audientia;* it has not the meaning of our 'audi the sense of a body of listeners, or as used in the express audience'.

15 *composita et mitis:* 'sedate and soft'. Editors quote Quint *affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mitis atque compositos esse dix*

quam...nequeas: 'and if you cannot practise oratory your dently *quam* refers to *oratio* in the widest sense, not to the s of oratory mentioned in the last sentence. With *si nequ exerceas* in 21, l. 23 with n.

Scipioni et Laelio: '*a* Scipio and *a* Laelius'; *i.e.* 'young frie as Scipio and Laelius are to me'.


OTES.
dare; usually an accus
l. 16.
diis does not imply h
age; the studia me
tablish') is
instruere to tea
in practical life.
offici munus: s
Fam. 6, 14. In sco
'duty and function' as
quo quidem: n. on 14
mihi vero: cf. the pass
Cn. et P. Scipiones: in C
the same family are mention
other writers the plural is reg
Iug. 42, 1 Ti. et C. Gracchus
MSS; Weissenborn Papirii).
regular; e.g. Cic. Phil. 2, 101 ar
little above (100) we have me
Hist. Synt. 1, p. 1.] Gnaeus
Cornelius Scipio was consul in
outbreak of the Second Punic
Publius was consul in 218, and
Ticinus, joined his brother in S
successes, but in 212 were hemmed
L. Aemilius: the father of Maced
defeated the Illyrii; but when consul
killed at Cannae. See 75, p. 56, l. 1
putandi: note the omission of sunt, for
p. 47, l. 13.
consenuerint...defecerint: here we have co
16, l. 9.
etsi: see n. on 2, l. 17.
defectio: as Allen remarks, Cic. might h
l. 18) to suit consenuerint, as defectio co
senectute: for reading see Appendix A.

§ 30.

27 *apud Xenophontem:* 'in Xenophon'; so in 79, l. 20 (where see n.) also 31, l. 3 *apud Homerum*.

eo...habuit: 'in his dying speech'. Cf. § 79 with nn.; also Appendix B.

28 *cum...esset:* '*though* he was very old'; the clause depends on the following words, not on the preceding.

29 *negat:* in Latin as in English the present tense is used in quotations from books.

30 *Metellum:* consul in 251 B.C. and won a great victory over the Carthaginians at Panormus (Palermo); consul again in 247. See below, 61, l. 13.

memini...esse: for the construction of *memini* with the present or perfect infinitive, see my n. on Lael. 2, l. 11, part of which I repeat here. 'If the person who recalls an event was a witness of it he may either (*a*) vividly picture to himself the event and its attendant circumstances, so that it becomes really present to his mind's eye for the moment, in which case the present infinitive follows, or (*b*) he may simply recall the *fact* that the event *did* take place in past time, in which case the perfect infinitive is used. If he was not a witness, he evidently can conceive the event only in the latter of these two ways'.

31 *puer:* the expression is peculiar, being abbreviated from *quod puer vidi* or something of the kind. Quintil. 8, 3, 31 (qu. by Allen) has *memini iuvenis*. In Rep. 1, 23 Cicero says *memini me admodum adulescentulo*.

32 *viginti et duos:* the commoner order of the words is *duos et viginti;* see n. on 13, l. 10.

ei sacerdotio praefuit: 'filled that sacred office'; cf. pro domo 105 *qui publicis sacerdotiis praefuerunt;* Caes. B. G. 1, 16, 5.

33 *tempore aetatis:* cf. n. on 2, p. 30, l. 5.

P. 40.

1 *requireret:* note the past tense, in spite of the present *esse*, which however is only an *imagined*, not a *real* present (see above, n. on l. 30, p. 11). The past tense in the dependent clause is regular; *e.g.* Fin. 2, 55 *memini me adesse P. Sextilio Rufo cum is rem ad amicos deferret. Requirere* is also used in § 76 as a synonym for *desiderare* (cf. l. 11 *desiderant* with l. 12 *requirit*); see too 33, p. 41, l. 1.

nihil: n. on 1, l. 1 *quid.*

2 *id:* 'such a course'; cf. 82, l. 19 *ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier.*

§ 31.

3 *videtisne ut:* here *ne* is the equivalent of *nonne*, as it often is in the Latin of Plautus and Terence, and in the colloquial Latin of the classical period. For *ut* after *videtis* see n. on 26, l. 16.

4 *Nestor: e.g.* in Iliad 1, 260 sq.; 11, 668 sq.

tertiam aetatem: cf. Iliad 1, 250 τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων Ἐφθίαθ', οἵ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο Ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθέῃ, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν: also Odyssey 3, 245 τρὶς γὰρ δή μιν φασὶν ἀνάξασθαι γένε' ἀνδρῶν. A γενεὰ comprises 30 years, and Homer simply means that Nestor's grandchildren had grown to be men at the time of the Trojan war. Ovid misunderstood Homer and took γενεὰ to cover 100 years, in Metam. 12, 187 where Nestor says *vixi annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur aetas.* Naevius or Laevius (Gell. 19, 7, 13) called Nestor *trisaeclisenex.*

5 *vera praedicans de se:* 'if he told the truth about himself'.

6 *nimis:* 'to any great extent'. *Insolens* does not correspond to our 'insolent'; it is almost the equivalent of *ineptus*, and has no harsher meaning than 'odd', 'strange', 'in bad taste.'

7 *melle dulcior:* Homer, Il. 1, 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. In Or. 32 Cic. says of Xenophon (whom the Greeks called Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα) that his *oratio* was *melle dulcior.*

8 *suavitatem:* notice the change from *dulcior*, which seems to be made for the mere sake of variety, since elsewhere (De Or. 3, 161) Cicero writes *dulcitudo orationis.*

nullis...viribus: see n. on 3, l. 9.

9 *et tamen:* for this see n. on 16, l. 14.

dux ille: Agamemnon, who says to Nestor in Iliad 2, 370 ἦ μὴν αὖτ' ἀγορῇ νικᾷς, γέρον, υἷας Ἀχαιῶν· Αἲ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον, Τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν, Τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος, Χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῃσιν ἁλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε.

nusquam: i.e. nowhere in Homer.

Aiacis: i.e. Aiax Telamonius, who was the greatest Greek warrior while Achilles sulked (Iliad 2, 768). The genitive after *similis* is the rule in Cicero, though some examples of the dative are found even with names of persons: see Madv. on Fin. 5, 12. The old canon (dating from the later Latin grammarians) that *similis* with the genitive implies internal and with the dative external resemblance has no foundation in fact.

10 *quod...acciderit:* 'and were this to happen to him'.

§ 32.

11 *sed:* n. on 26, l. 16.

redeo ad me: so 45, l. 14 *ad me ipsum iam revertar;* Lael. 96 *ut ad me redeam;* Div. 1, 97 *ad nostra iam redeo;* also below, 67, l. 21 *sed redeo ad mortem impendentem;* also *venio ad* in 51, l. 18; 56, l. 16.

12 *vellem equidem:* see n. on 26, l. 25. For reading, see Appendix A.

13 *quod Cyrus:* see 30, l. 27 sq.

sed tamen: put because *vellem equidem posse* implies *non possum.*

queo: the verb *queo* is rarely found without a negative, *possum* being used in positive sentences; cf. however Lael. 71, l. 25 *habere se putant quod...queant dicere*, where see my note. Cicero never uses *nequeo*, though he has the other persons of the present tense.

14 *quidem:* concessive: 'though I have not indeed the strength I had'.

miles etc.: see 10, l. 32 n.

15 *fuerim...cum depugnavi:* the change from subjunctive to indicative is worthy of notice. The subjunctive is due to the class-notion—'strength of the *kind* I had'—see Roby 1680 sq. But the reference in the other clauses is so purely to time that *cum* takes the indicative in spite of the well-known tendency of Cicero to introduce the subjunctive construction after *cum*. *De-pugnavi*='fought the war out', or '*to the end*'; cf. 38, l. 28 *desudans;* 44, p. 45, l. 10 *devicerat.*

18 *non...non...non:* see n. on 13, p. 34, l. 3.

enervavit: enervare is literally 'to take out the sinews'; cf. the expressions *nervos elidere* (Tusc. 2, 27) and *nervos incidere* (Academ. 1, 35) both of which are used in secondary or metaphorical senses.

non afflixit: 'has not prostrated'.

19 *curia:* =*senatus; rostra:* cf. Introd. pp. 14, 20 n.; also n. on 44, p. 45, l. 10.

21 *quod monet:* cf. Tusc. 1, 52 *praeceptum Apollinis quo monet ut se quisque noscat.* The editors rightly remark that while the words *quod monet, quo monet* seem to a modern superfluous, it was rather unusual in Latin to make clauses depend directly on substantives. Such constructions are however not nearly so uncommon in Cicero as they are often supposed to be; see my n. on Academ. 2, 120. For the sense of the passage cf. Fin. 5, 3 *veteris proverbi admonitu vivorum memini;* Lael. 85 *acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio.* The usual construction after verbs of advising or warning is *ut* with subjunctive, but even in Cicero and the other writers of the best period the infinitive sometimes follows when (as here) the advice or warning is *general* and not addressed to any particular person.

22 *esse:* emphatic,=*vivere;* see n. on 21, l. 27.

ego vero etc.: 'I however would rather that my old age should be shorter than that I should be old before my time'.

24 *nemo cui fuerim:* for the subjunctive see Roby 1686. For the sense of the passage cf. Plaut. Mercator 2, 2, 17 *quamquam negotium est, numquam sum occupatus amico operam dare.*

§ 33.

25 *at:* as in 21, l. 23; where see n.

minus...virium: n. on 3, l. 9.

ne vos quidem habetis: 'nor have you'; see n. on 27, l. 28 and cf. 47, l. 9.

26 *T. Ponti centurionis:* the centurions were generally men of powerful frame; the editors here quote Veget. 2, 14 *centurio elegendus est, qui sit*

magnis viribus et procera statura. Add Philipp. 8, 26 *centuriones pugnaces et lacertosos;* Horat. Sat. 1, 6, 72 *magni pueri magnis e centurionibus orti* (where Orelli wrongly takes *magnis* to mean 'distinguished', 'important'). Meissner says of Pontius 'sonst unbekannt'; so too Sommerbrodt; but he is evidently the person mentioned by Lucilius (in Cic. Fin. 1, 9) *Graecum te Albuci quam Romanum atque Sabinum, municipem Ponti, Tritanni, centurionum, Praeclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque Maluisti dici.*

27 *moderatio:* 'a right application'; literally 'a governing'. The young student should beware of understanding *moderatio virium* to mean 'a moderate *amount* of strength'—a mistake made by some of the translators. *Moderatio* has no such concrete sense in good Latin. With this passage cf. § 27.

tantum...nitatur: cf. 27, p. 38, l. 31 *quidquid agis agere pro viribus,* also *quantum possumus* in 34, l. 17.

28 *ne:* the affirmative *ne* (often wrongly written *nae* on the absurd assumption that the word passed into Latin from the Greek *ναί*) is in Cicero always and in other writers nearly always followed by a pronoun. For the form of the sentence here cf. Fam. 7, 1, 3 *ne tu haud paulo plus delectationis habuisti quam quemquam nostrum;* Tusc. 3, 8 *ne ista gloriosa sapientia non magno aestimanda est;* Fin. 3, 11 (almost the same words).

non...virium: 'will not be possessed by great regret for his loss of strength'.

29 *per stadium ... bovem:* 'is said to have marched over the course carrying an ox on his back'. So Athenaeus 10, 4, p. 412 E Μίλων δ' ὁ Κροτωνιάτης...ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ταῦρον ἀναθέμενος τοῖς ὤμοις τετραετῆ καὶ τοῦτον περιενέγκας τὸ στάδιον, μετὰ ταῦτα δαιτεύσας μόνος αὐτὸν κατέφαγεν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. Cf. Quint. 1, 9, 5 *Milo quem vitulum assueverat ferre, taurum ferebat.* As to Milo see n. on 27, p. 39, l. 1. For *cum sustineret* a modern would have been inclined to use a participle, which was perhaps here avoided because of the close proximity of another participle (*ingressus*).

30 *umeris:* this spelling is better than *humeris*, which is now abandoned by the best scholars. There is no sound corresponding to the *h* in words of the same origin in cognate languages (see Curtius, Greek Etym. I 423 of the Eng. T.), and although undoubtedly *h* was wrongly attached to some Latin words, there is no evidence to shew that this happened to *umerus.*

31 *has: i.e. Milonis,* corresponding to *Pythagorae.*

Pythagorae: chosen no doubt because tradition made Milo a Pythagorean; see n. on 27, p. 39, l. 1.

malis: i.e. si optandum sit (cf. Plaut. Miles 170). For the ellipse see n. on 26, l. 25.

denique: 'in short'.

32 *utare:* the 'hortative' subjunctive. See Roby 1596 sq.; Kennedy, Gram. § 94 E. The second person of the present tense is very rare, excepting when, as here, the command is general. Had the command

been addressed to a particular person, Cicero must have written *ne requisieris*. This subject has been thoroughly dealt with by Madvig (Opusc. 2, 105) who reduces the use of the second person sing. pres. subj. in a prohibition to a single instance so far as Cicero is concerned, viz. Att. 9, 18, 3 *tu, malum, inquies, actum ne agas*. He rightly conjectured that Cicero there was only applying to a particular case, without altering the tense, an old proverb which contained the command in a general form. Madvig might have proved his conjecture by a reference to Lael. 85 *acta agimus quod vetamur vetere proverbio*. Many of the sentences in good writers where direct prohibitions of the form *ne facias* seem at first sight to occur are really elliptic. This is the case with a passage from Horace allowed by Madvig (and after him by Roby) to furnish an example, viz. Sat. 2, 3, 87 *sive ego recte, seu prave, hoc volui; ne sis patruus mihi*, where after *prave* there is an ellipse of *feci*, then *ne sis* is really in a clause dependent on *hoc dico* or something of the kind omitted: 'my reason for saying this is to prevent you from playing 'uncle' to me'. The same explanation is rightly applied by Kennedy (Gram. 94 E, 2 *b*) to Horace Odes 4, 9, 1 *ne forte credas interitura quae etc.*, and ought to be applied to Plaut. Most. 771 (quoted by Roby 1600 as irregular) and many other passages. Indeed it may be doubted whether a sure example of the formula *ne facias* can be produced from any prose writer before Velleius.

dum adsit, cum absit: as both *dum* and *cum* here have evidently a temporal sense, the subjunctives seem due to the influence of the other subjunctives *utare* and *requiras*. The *chiasmus* in this part of the sentence should be noted; cf. n. on 3, l. 6. In the latter part of the sentence *chiasmus* is neglected; for this see n. on 26, l. 15. For *requiras* see n. on 30, p. 40, l. 1.

33 *nisi forte:* see n. on 18, l. 28.

pueritiam etc.: cf. n. on 4, l. 32.

P. 41.

1 *debent:* 'must'; the meaning of *debere* in Cic. is generally much stronger than our 'ought', by which the word is usually rendered.

cursus: for the metaphor cf. n. on 83, p. 59, l. 6; also Fam. 8, 13, 1 (a letter of Coelius) *aetate iam sunt decursa;* pro Quint. 99 *acta aetas decursaque*. For *certus* cf. below, 72, p. 54, l. 31 *senectutis certus terminus*.

aetatis: here and in l. 2 = *vitae;* so in 5, l. 8, where see n.; Plautus often has *in aetate* with or without *hominum* = *in vita* (as in Trin. 24); Cic. uses *agere aetatem* = *vivere* (Tusc. 5, 77 and often). Yet in l. 3 *aetas* has its ordinary sense; there is a similar change in 45, l. 17, where see my n.

2 *eaque:* this is a common way of introducing with emphasis a fresh epithet or predicate. Often *idque* (καὶ τοῦτο) occurs, the pronoun being then adverbially used, and not in agreement with the subject. Cf. n. on 65, l. 26 *illius quidem;* also *neque ea* in 22, l. 4.

simplex: life is compared to a race, in which each man has to run *once* and only once round the course.

3 *tempestivitas:* 'seasonableness'; cf. 5, l. 11 *maturitate tempestiva* with n.

infirmitas: the context shews that not physical but intellectual weakness is meant; so in Acad. 2, 9 *infirmissimo tempore aetatis;* Fin. 5, 43 *aetas infirma.*

ferocitas: not exactly 'fierceness', but rather 'exultation', 'high spirit'.

4 *iam constantis aetatis: i.e.* middle age, the characteristic of which is *stability;* cf. 76, l. 12 *constans aetas quae media dicitur;* also 60, l. 11. For *iam* cf. Suet. Galb. 4 *aetate nondum constanti;* pro Caelio 41 *aetas iam corroborata;* Fam. 10, 3, 2 *aetas iam confirmata.* The *constans aetas* is the *καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία* of Thucyd. 2, 36 and the *composita aetas* of Tac. A. 6, 46.

maturitas: 'ripeness', *i.e.* of intellect or judgment.

5 *habet:* observe the singular verb, though several subjects precede (n. on 7, p. 32, l. 5). Translate 'bring with them each some gift of nature which must needs be garnered in its due season'.

§ 34.

6 *audire te arbitror:* 'I think that news reaches you'.

hospes...faciat: the subject of the relative clause gains emphasis by being placed outside the clause; cf. 28, l. 9 n.

avitus: there was a strong friendship between the elder Africanus and Masinissa, king of Numidia, who in 206 B.C. passed over from the Carthaginian alliance to that of the Romans. He was richly rewarded by Scipio and remained loyal to Rome till his death. He lived to welcome the younger Scipio in Africa during the last Punic war and to see the utter ruin of Carthage. For the expression *hospes tuus avitus* cf. Plautus, Miles 135 *paternum suom hospitem.*

7 *cum ingressus etc.: i.e.* protracted exercise of one kind did not weary him.

9 *cum autem equo:* though Cic. says *in equo vehi esse sedere etc.* the preposition here is left out because a mere ablative of manner or means is required to suit the similar ablative *pedibus.* So Div. 2, 140 *ecus in quo vehebar,* 'the horse on which I rode', but ib. 1, 58 *equo advectus ad ripam,* 'brought to the bank *by the aid* of a horse'.

imbri: for the form of ablative see Appendix A.

10 *capite operto sit:* Allen proposes *operto cum capite* needlessly; it is impossible to say of a man either *est cum capite* or *est operto cum capite.* It is as necessary to say *esse operto capite* as to say *esse magno capite:* Cf. the passage of Varro quoted in n. on next line.

11 *siccitatem:* 'wiriness', literally 'dryness' or freedom from excessive perspiration, colds and the like; cf. Tusc. 5, 99 *siccitatem quae conse-*

quitur continentiam in victu, on which passage Kühner quotes a fragm. of Varro—*Persae propter exercitationes puerilis modicas eam sunt consecuti corporis siccitatem ut neque spuerent neque emungerentur sufflatoque corpore essent.* [In that passage some word like *minime* should probably be inserted either before or after *corpore*, since without it *sufflato* = 'puffed out' gives exactly the wrong sense, and moreover Varro is almost translating Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 16, who says that among the Persians it is αἰσχρὸν φύσης μεστοὺς φαίνεσθαι.] Cf. also Liv. 34, 47, 5 *mollia et fluida corpora Gallorum;* Catull. 23, 12 *corpora sicciora cornu.*

regis: here = *regia.*

officia et munera: see n. on 29, l. 19.

14 *ne sint:* 'grant that age has no strength'. This formula of concession for argument's sake is frequent in Cicero, who often attaches to it *sane;* see my n. on Acad. 2, 105.

15 *senectute = senibus:* see n. on 26, l. 16.

legibus et institutis: 'by statute and precedent'.

16 *muneribus eis etc.:* chiefly military service.

17 *non modo...sed ne quidem:* when a negative follows *non modo* these words have the force of *non modo non*, a negative being borrowed from the negative in the subsequent clause. But often *non modo non* is written; the negative after *modo* is then more emphatic, being independent. Here *non modo non quod non* would have had a harsh sound.

quantum possumus: see 33, l. 28 n.

§ 35.

18 *at:* as in 21, l. 23, where see n. In his reply Cato adopts the same form as that in which the objection is urged (*at id quidem etc.*). So in 68, ll. 28, 29 *at senex...at est...*

19 *nullum...munus:* 'no function which duty or any sphere of life requires'. Cf. n. on 29, l. 19.

21 *commune valetudinis:* 'common to weak health', *i.e.* 'to all in a weak state of health'. *Valetudo*, as is well known, means in itself neither good nor bad health; the word takes its colouring from the context.

quam...imbecillus: for the separation of *quam* from the adjective it qualifies cf. n. on 15, l. 32.

22 *filius is qui:* a pause must be made at *filius;* the sense is not 'that son of Africanus who adopted you', but '*the* son of Africanus, I mean the man who adopted you'.

quam tenui etc.: 'what slender health he had or rather no health at all'.

23 *quod ni ita fuisset:* 'now if this had not been so'; a phrase like *quod cum ita sit* and *hoc ita dici* (for which see my n. on pro Archia § 2). Cf. also 67, l. 18 *quod ni ita accideret;* 82, l. 27 *quod ni ita se haberet;* also 8, l. 15 *quod eodem modo dici potest.*

alterum...civitatis: 'in him would have arisen a second star for our country'. *Illud* is really put for *ille*, by attraction to *lumen*—a kind of attraction which is exceedingly common; cf. Roby § 1068 and Fin. 2, 70 *Epicurus, hoc enim vestrum lumen est*, 'Epicurus, for *he* is your shining light'; so Phil. 2, 44 *Cn. Pompeium, quod imperi populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit;* Livy 1, 39, 3 avoids the attraction—*hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris fore*. Cf. also 53, l. 14 *ea quae*. As to *lumen* used of persons, see my n. on pro Balbo 34.

25 *quid mirum:* n. on 12, l. 26.

27 *Laeli et Scipio:* see n. on 4, l. 23.

eiusque...sunt: 'and its defects are to be made good by painstaking'. *Diligentia* scarcely corresponds to our 'diligence'; it rather implies minute patient attention.

28 *pugnandum: est* has to be supplied from the preceding *sunt;* for its omission cf. n. on 29, l. 23. The phrase *pugnare cum senectute* occurs in Plin. Ep. 3, 1, 8.

tamquam...sic: so *ut...sic* a few lines farther on; also *quasi...sic* in 26, l. 22, where see n.

§ 36.

29 *habenda ratio valetudinis:* 'attention must be paid to health'; so *valetudini consulere* (Fam. 16, 4, 3) *operam dare* (De Or. 1, 265) *indulgere* (Fam. 16, 18, 1) *valetudinem curare* often; cf. also Fam. 10, 35, 2 *si salutis omnium ac dignitatis rationem habueritis;* Fin. 2, 64 *Epicurus habebat rationem valetudinis*.

30 *tantum:* restrictive, = '*only* so much'; so in 69, p. 54, l. 4, and often.

31 *potionis:* the noun *potus* is rare before silver Latin. The texts of Cic. have it only once, in Div. 1, 60 *potu atque pastu*, where I would read *potione*, which probably was changed under the influence of the neighbouring *pastu*. Cic. sometimes has *potatio* in a concrete as well as in an abstract sense. *Cibus et potio* is the regular Latin equivalent for our 'food and drink'; see below, 46, l. 30; also Tusc. 5, 100; Fin. 1, 37; Varro de re rust. 1, 1, 5.

adhibendum: it is not necessary to understand *corpori* (as all the editors do) for though the construction *adhibere alicui* or *alicui rei aliquid* is exceedingly common, the dative is often left out, *adhibere* having merely the sense of 'to employ' or 'to use'. Cf. *e.g.* Fin. 2, 64.

non: we should say 'and not' or 'but not'; the Latins however are fond of asyndeton (called *adversativum*) when two clauses are contrasted. Cf. n. on 3, l. 7.

32 *menti atque animo:* properly *mens* is the intellect, strictly so called, *animus* intellect and feeling combined, but the words are often very loosely used. The two words constantly occur together in Latin; Lucretius even has *mens animi;* cf. also the passages referred to in n. on 41, l. 27.

33 *haec quoque nisi: i.e. nisi eis.*

P. 42.

1 *instilles:* cf. n. on *exerceas* in 21, l. 23. The context there resembles the present passage.

exstinguntur: not *extinguuntur;* see n. on *ecus* in 14, l. 17.

et: 'moreover'.

2 *defetigatione:* a better spelling in Cicero than *defatigatione;* cf. *defetiscor.*

3 *exercitando:* in good Latin the verb *exercitare* is exceedingly rare, except in the participle *exercitatus*, which stands as participle to *exerceo*, *exercitus* being unused. Sallust, however, has *exercitabat*, and Varro the gerund. The word seems here to have been chosen as suiting *exercitationibus* better than *exercendo* would. So in 47, l. 9 *desideratio* is chosen rather than *desiderium*, to correspond with the neighbouring *titillatio.*

ait: *sc. esse;* the omission with *aio* is rare, though common with *dico*, *appello etc.;* see n. on 22, l. 14.

comicos: not 'comic' in our sense, but = *in comoediis*, 'represented in comedy'. So Rosc. Am. 47 *comicum adulescentem*, 'the young man of comedy'. The passage of Caecilius (as to whom see n. on 24, l. 30 *Statius*) is more fully quoted in Lael. 99, where see my notes.

4 *hos significat:* 'by these he means'.

credulos: in almost every Latin comedy there is some old man who is cheated by a cunning slave.

5 *quae...senectutis:* 'which faults belong not to old age in itself'.

somniculosae: for the form of the adjective cf. *meticulosus.* The formation contains a diminutive noun stem (*somniculo-*).

6 *petulantia:* 'waywardness'.

8 *non proborum:* Cic. avoids *improborum* as too harsh; with exactly similar feeling Propertius 3, 20, 52 (ed. Paley) says *nec proba Pasiphae* for *et improba P.* Cf. Off. 3, 36 *error hominum non proborum.*

deliratio: 'fatuity'; a rare word, probably used by Cic. only here and Div. 2, 90.

§ 37.

10 *robustos:* 'sturdy'; implying that the sons were grown up.

tantam: *sc. quantam habuit;* only a little more emphatic than *magnam* would have been; see n. on 52, p. 48, l. 4.

11 *Appius:* see n. on 16, l. 7.

regebat: the *pater familias* in early Roman times was an almost irresponsible ruler over his children and household.

et caecus et senex: '*though* both blind and old'.

intentum: commonly used of *animus*, like the opposite *remissus* (28, l. 14 n.).

13 *tenebat etc.:* 'he held not only the authority but the command over his household'. The *patria potestas* is often denoted by the word *imperium;* cf. De Invent. 2, 140 *imperium domesticum.*

14 *metuebant etc.:* 'his slaves feared him, his children stood in awe of him, yet all held him dear; in him ancestral spirit and principles were strong'. While *animus patrius* here evidently means the strong will for which the patrician Claudii were proverbial, elsewhere, as in Rosc. Am. 46 *intellegere qui animus patrius sit in liberos,* it indicates the feeling of a particular father for his children.

§ 38.

15 *ita:* =*ea lege* 'on these conditions, viz. ...', the clause with *si* being an explanation of *ita.* This correspondence of *ita...si* is common in Cicero; see n. on 12, l. 30 *ita...quasi.* Here translate 'age can only be in honour if it fights for itself'.

16 *se ipsa:* cf. Cic. Acad. 2, 36 *veritas se ipsa defendet;* see also the n. on 4, l. 26.

17 *si nemini emancipata est:* 'if it has passed into bondage to nobody'. *Mancipium* is a piece of property; *emancipare* is to pass a piece of property *out* of its owner's hands. The word acquired two exactly opposite meanings. When used of a slave or a son *in patria potestate* (who legally was subject to many of the same ordinances as a slave) it means 'to set free', *unless,* as in Fin. 1, 24 *filium in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat,* some person is mentioned to whom the original owner makes over his rights. But in Plaut. Bacchid. 1, 1, 90 *mulier, tibi me emancupo* the sense is 'I enslave myself to you', *i.e.* 'I pass myself out of my own power into yours'. So in the wellknown passage of Horace, Epod. 9, 12 (of Antony) *emancipatus feminae* 'enslaved to a woman'; cf. Cic. Phil. 2, 51 *venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum.*

ad ultimum spiritum: so 27, l. 8 *usque ad extremum spiritum.*

19 *senile aliquid...aliquid adulescentis:* chiasmus; see n. on 3, l. 6. For the sense cf. 33, p. 41, l. 3 *ferocitas iuvenum...senectutis maturitas.*

20 *quod qui sequitur:* 'and he who strives after this', *i.e.* to combine the virtues of age and youth. Cf. Aesch. Sept. 622 γέροντα τὸν νοῦν σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει. For *quod qui* cf. n. on 2, p. 30, l. 5 *cui qui pareat.*

21 *mihi est in manibus:* 'I have on hand', 'am busy with'. See the note on 22, l. 11.

Originum: as to Cato's literary labours see Introd. p. 22.

22 *omnia colligo:* I have no doubt that these words refer to the materials Cato was collecting for his 'Origines', though the commentators here understand them to concern some other book of his, as the 'Ἀποφθέγματα; see Introd. p. 22.

causarum illustrium: 'causes célèbres'; Cicero's *causae maiores* in Acad. 2, 64 *etc.*

23 *quascunque defendi*: 'as many as I have conducted'. *Defendere causam* here is simply to act as counsel in a case, whether the client be defendant or plaintiff. So in Lael. 96 and often. [Sommerbrodt wrongly turns 'in welcher ich als Vertheidiger aufgetreten bin'.]

nunc cum maxime: 'now more than ever' (νῦν μάλιστα). The phrase is elliptic; in full it would be '*cum maxime conficio orationes, nunc conficio*', 'when I most of all compose speeches, I now compose them'; *i.e.* 'the time when I most of all compose is now'. Cf. Qu. Fr. 2, 4, 6 (ed. Wesenberg) *domus celebratur ut cum maxime.* The words *cum maxime* generally follow *tum* or *nunc* and add emphasis to those words, but are sometimes used alone to express the ideas 'then' and 'now' more emphatically than *tum* and *nunc* would. Cf. Verr. 4, 82 *qui cum monumenta rerum suarum cum maxime* (=*nunc*) *constituat;* Tac. Ann. 4, 27 *coeptantem cum maxime* (=*tum*) *coniurationem disiecit.*

24 *ius augurium etc.*: 'the law pertaining to the augurs and pontifices'; *i.e.* the principles applied by them in the execution of their duties. The pontifices had the general oversight of religious observances. For *ius augurium* see n. on 12, l. 27.

civile: the meaning of the phrase *ius civile* varies very much according to the context. Here it is the secular law, as opposed to the sacred law (so in 50, p. 47, l. 6); sometimes it is the whole body of Roman law as opposed to the law of other states; often, again, it is the older portion of the Roman law as opposed to the newer or 'equity' portion.

25 *Pythagoriorum more*: in the 'golden verses' (χρυσᾶ ἔπη) once attributed to Pythagoras are the lines *μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι, Πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν· Πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη; Ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπὸ πρώτου ἐπέξιθι καὶ μετέπειτα Δειλὰ μὲν ἐκπρήξας ἐπιπλήσσεο χρηστὰ δὲ τέρπου.* Evidently the words *exercendae memoriae gratia* have no reference to the Pythagoreans.

27 *commemoro*: 'I say over to myself'. In Cicero *commemoro* is a verb of *speaking*, and never has the meaning of *recordor* or *memini*. Cf. my n. on pro Arch. 29, l. 29.

hae: see n. on 35, l. 23 *alterum illud lumen.*

exercitationes: above, l. 2; also in 9, l. 19.

28 *curricula*: see n. on 33, p. 41, l. 1.

desudans: for the force of the compound cf. n. on 32, l. 15 *depugnavi.*

29 *magno opere*: better so written than in one word *magnopere;* so *maximo, minimo, nimio opere.*

adsum amicis: 'I act as counsel to my friends'. This legal sense of *adesse* is exceedingly common; less usual is the corresponding use of *abesse* 'to refuse a brief', as in Acad. 2, 36.

30 *frequens*: literally the word means 'crowded' (probably it is connected with *farcire* 'to cram' or 'to crowd together'), hence *frequens senatus* and the like phrases. Then *frequens* comes to be used of actions or events that often recur; *e.g.* Orat. 15 *Demosthenes frequens Platonis auditor;* De Or. 1, 243 *frequens te audivi.* [It is sometimes

said that in this second sense *frequens* is not applied to *things*, but is only used in connexion with persons; cf. however below 44, p. 45, l. 4 *frequentibus poculis;* also De Or. 3, 182 *trocheus frequens;* Fam. 10, 31, 1 (a letter of Asinius Pollio) *frequentiora latrocinia.*]

ultro: 'unasked', 'of my own motion'. There is a reference to the well known story, that whatever subject was discussed, Cato gave as his opinion '*delenda est Carthago*'. See Introd. p. 21.

multum et diu: see n. on 9, l. 20 *diu multumque.*

31 *tueor:* 'advocate', 'support'.

quas...nequirem: cf. 28, l. 15 *quam si ipse exsequi nequeas.* For *quae* (which some texts have), and which is not exactly accommodated to its antecedent, cf. my n. on 7, l. 25 *quae*, also on Lael. 14, l. 26.

32 *lectulus:* a couch usually stood in the Roman study, on which the student reclined while reading, composing or dictating, or even writing. Cf. De Or. 3, 17 *in eam exedram venisse in qua Crassus lectulo posito recubuisset, cumque eum in cogitatione defixum esse sensisset, statim recessisse...;* Suet. Aug. 78 *lecticula lucubratoria.* [Surely in Suet. *lecticulus lucubratorius* should be read. *Lecticula* is the diminutive of *lectica*, not of *lectus*.]

ea ipsa cogitantem: =*de eis ipsis:* so Acad. 2, 127 *cogitantes supera atque caelestia*, and often.

P. 43.

1 *acta vita:* 'the life I have led'; cf. 62, l. 30 *honeste acta superior aetas;* so Tusc. 1, 109; Fam. 4, 13, 4.

2 *viventi:* Madvig on Fin. 1, 11 says that this depends on *obrepat* not on *intellegitur;* it really depends on neither, but is a dative of respect (commonly called *dativus commodi vel incommodi;* cf. n. on 4, l. 24 *quibus*). 'As regards one who lives amid these pursuits and tasks, the time when old age creeps on him is not perceived'. Cicero does not substitute the dative of the agent, after a passive verb, for the ablative with *ab:* all those datives which might appear at first sight to be so used are like the one we have here; see Madvig, l.l.

obrepat: cf. 4, l. 30.

ita sensim etc.: 'so gradually and imperceptibly does life wane, and is not suddenly shattered, but flickers down with lapse of time'. *Sensim sine sensu* (observe the alliteration) is like *mentes dementis* in 16, l. 13, where see n. *Sensim* must have meant at one time 'perceptibly' then 'only just perceptibly', then 'gradually' and almost 'imperceptibly'.

4 *exstinguitur:* cf. 71, l. 26.

§ 39.

5 *tertia:* see § 15 and cf. 66, l. 5 *quarta restat causa etc.*

quod eam carere dicunt: this is not strictly logical, being put for *quod caret* (or rather *careat*) *ut dicunt.* Cf. Roby 1746 and my n. on Lael. 35, l. 28.

6 *munus...aufert:* to say that *a gift robs* one of anything is of course an *oxymoron*, for which cf. n. on 16, l. 12 *mentes dementis.*

aetatis: 'advancing years'; here almost = *senectutis:* cf. n. on 45, l. 17.

7 *id quod est etc.:* 'the greatest fault of youth'; *i.e.* the love of pleasure. In this passage *voluptas* indicates pleasure of a sensual kind, its ordinary sense, *delectatio, oblectatio etc.* being used of the higher pleasures. In 51, l. 18 however we have *voluptates agricolarum;* cf. also 50, l. 17.

8 *accipite:* 'hear'; so *dare* often means 'to tell'. With *accipere* in this sense cf. the similar use of *ἀποδέχεσθαι.*

optimi adulescentes: so Laelius addresses Fannius and Scaevola in Lael. 33 *audite, optimi viri.*

9 *Archytae:* Archytas (the subject of Horace's wellknown ode 1 28) was a contemporary and friend of Plato, and a follower of the Pythagorean philosophy. He wrote philosophical works and was also famous as a mathematician and astronomer, besides being the leading statesman and general of the commonwealth of Tarentum. For another saying of Archytas similarly declared to have been handed down by tradition, cf. Lael. 88.

10 *tradita est:* 'was imparted to me', *i.e.* by word of mouth; cf. 41, p. 44, l. 1.

cum essem adulescens Tarenti: 'when as a young man I stayed at Tarentum'. For *adulescens* cf. n. on 26, l. 22.

11 *nullam capitaliorem pestem etc.:* cf. Lael. 34 *pestem enim nullam maiorem esse amicitiis quam pecuniae cupiditatem;* Off. 2, 9 *consuetudo.. honestatem ab utilitate secernens, qua nulla pernicies maior hominum vitae potuit afferri.* For the order of the words *nullam...dicebat...datam* cf. Acad. 1, 7 *nec ullum arbitror maius a dis datum munus homini.*

capitaliorem: 'more deadly'. *Caput* was often equivalent to *vita*, so that *capitalis* comes to mean 'affecting the life'.

12 *cuius voluptatis:* the repetition of the antecedent in the relative clause is not very uncommon in Cicero, and in some other authors, Caesar, for example, is frequent.

13 *temere et ecfrenate:* 'blindly and uncontrollably'. For *ec-frenate* see n. on 9, l. 20 *ecferunt.*

§ 40.

14 *hinc...hinc...hinc:* n. on 13, l. 3. With this passage cf. Cic. Hortensius fragm. *quod turpe damnum, quod dedecus est quod non evocetur atque eliciatur voluptate?* For the form of the passage cf. Acad. 2, 27 *lex veri rectique proditur, quo e vitio et amicitiarum proditiones et rerum publicarum nasci solent;* Off. 3, 36 *utile secernit ab honesto: hinc sicae, hinc venena, hinc etc.* Observe the singular *patriae* followed by the plural *rerum publicarum;* the plural of *patria* is rare; cf. Leg. 2, 5 *ego omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias.*

15 *cum hostibus etc.:* cf. n. on 7, l. 33; Phil. 12, 27 *colloquia cum acerrimis hostibus.*

16 *scelus:* this word looks chiefly to the criminal intention whether it be carried into action or not; *malum facinus* to the completed crime; *flagitium* is *sin* rather than *crime. Facinus* in sense is often rather narrower and lighter than *scelus;* cf. Verr. 5, 170 *facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare.*

17 *impelleret: sc. homines;* so *nos* is omitted after *iubebat* in l. 24.

18 *excitari:* 'are set in motion'. In 39, l. 13 and 41, l. 24 we have the verb *in-citare.* For the difference between the two verbs cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 1, 45 *haec non eo dicuntur, ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse, sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur.*

19 *homini...dedisset:* cf. Acad. 1, 7 *nec ullum arbitror maius aut melius a dis datum munus homini.* Notice *homini* 'man', in the same sense as *hominibus,* above, l. 12.

sive quis: in passages of this kind the MSS vary between *quis* and *qui,* so that it is very difficult to distinguish between the two forms; see my note on Acad. 2, 81; also cf. below, 83, p. 59, l. 4 *si quis deus.*

20 *muneri ac dono:* the two words *munus* and *donum* constantly come together; the difference in meaning is hardly perceptible (see my n. on Arch. 18, l. 10). *Donum* perhaps implies the *fact* of giving, *munus* the *generosity* of the giver.

21 *tam...inimicum:* for the separation of *tam* from *inimicum* cf. n. on 15, l. 32.

§ 41.

22 *libidine: l.* = ἐπιθυμία; *temperantia* = σωφροσύνη. *Dominari* is a very strong word, 'to tyrannize'; *dominatio* = τυραννίς. So *regnum* rather corresponds to 'despotism' than to our 'kingdom' or 'government'. For *locum* cf. Lael. 52 *in tyranni vita nullus locus est amicitiae.*

23 *consistere:* 'find a foothold'. Cf. Fin. 4, 69 *sapientia pedem ubi poneret non habebat.*

24 *fingere animo:* 'to imagine'.

tanta...quanta...maxima: 'the greatest that could possibly be enjoyed'. The form of expression is common, *e.g.* Lael. 74 *tanta quanta maxima potest esse distantia.*

25 *percipi:* for this cf. n. on 21, l. 25.

26 *tam diu dum:* this is not exactly equivalent to the ordinary *tam diu quam,* but there is ellipse—'so long as this, I mean while *etc.*'. Cf. Cat. 3, 16 *tam diu, dum urbis moenibus continebatur;* Off. 1, 2 *tam diu...quoad...*

27 *nihil...nihil...nihil:* n. on 13, l. 3.

mente...ratione...cogitatione: 'by thought, by reasoning, by imagination'. *Cogitatio* like διάνοια has often the sense of 'imagination'. For the close juxtaposition of words nearly synonymous cf. below, 42, l. 7 *consilium...rationi...mentis,* also 19, l. 10 *consilio ratione sententia;*

67, l. 19; 38, ll. 27, 28 *ingeni...mentis;* 36, l. 32 *menti...animo;* also 17, l. 26. This is very characteristic of Cicero's Latin.

29 *si quidem:* 'if, as is admitted'. *Quidem* concessive as in 32, l. 14 and often.

maior atque longior: 'very intense and protracted'. Superlatives might have been expected, in view of *quanta percipi posset maxima* above. *Longus* in the sense of 'long-continued' is very rare in Ciceronian Latin, excepting when, as in 66, l. 9 *longa aetate,* it is joined with a word distinctly referring to time. In Fin. 2, 94 we find *dolorem...longinquum levem,* but a few lines later *si longus* (*dolor*) *levis.* For the general drift of the passage cf. Cic. Hortensius (fragment) *congruere cum cogitatione magna voluptas corporis non potest; quis enim, cum utatur voluptate ea qua nulla possit maior esse, attendere animum, inire rationes, cogitare omnino quidquam potest?*

30 *animi lumen:* a common metaphor; *e.g.* Cic. Rep. 6, 12 *tu, Africane ostendas oportebit patriae lumen animi tui.* Cf. 36, p. 41, l. 33 *haec quoque nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles exstinguntur;* also below 42, l. 8 *mentis oculos.*

31 *C. Pontio:* C. Pontius Herennius, the father of C. Pontius Telesinus who defeated the Romans at the Caudine Forks during the Second Samnite war, in 321 B.C. The father is several times mentioned by Livy IX cc. 1 and 3; cf. especially 1, § 2 *C. Pontium, patre longe prudentissimo natum.*

33 *Nearchus:* mentioned by Plutarch, Cato 2, as a Pythagorean and friend of Cato's.

P. 44.

1 *permanserat:* *i.e.* during the siege of Tarentum.

2 *cum quidem etc.:* 'and indeed (cf. n. on 10, p. 33, l. 2) at a time when Plato was present'. Of course this is explanatory of *locutum,* not of *accepisse.* For the use of the pluperfect *interfuisset,* which is not in accordance with English idiom, cf. n. on 4, l. 30 *putassent;* so in l. 15 *fuerat;* also in 44, l. 10 *devicerat.*

Plato...quem venisse etc.: although Plato made two journeys to Italy and Sicily (or, as some authorities say, three) it is scarcely likely that he was present at Tarentum in the year mentioned (349 B.C.), two years before his death, when he was of advanced age. The latest date assigned by other authorities for Plato's last visit to the West is 361 B.C.

3 *reperio:* *sc. in annalibus;* so in 15, l. 28; cf. *videmus* in 26, l. 20.

§ 42.

4 *quorsus hoc:* for the omission of *dicebam* or *dixi* see n. on 3, l. 15. Trans. 'why this speech? To make you perceive, that even if reason and wisdom did not enable us to reject pleasure, we ought to be very thankful to old age for causing us to feel no desire for that which duty forbids'. The imperfects *efficeret liberet oporteret* can only be represented

in English by presents. Although these verbs express circumstances which *continue* (since the *general* effect of old age is being described) yet they are thrown into the past to suit the past tense *dicebam* or *dixi* which is really, though not expressed, the principal verb. Cf. below, 62, l. 29; 78, l. 13.

7 *consilium:* 'deliberation'.

8 *ut ita dicam:* this softens the metaphor, as *quasi* or *quasi quidam* often does, and as *οἷον, ὥσπερ* do in Greek [but *not ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*, which in many books is wrongly said to be the equivalent of *ut ita dicam;* see my n. on Lael. 2, l. 14]. The phrase *mentis* or *animi aciem praestringere* often occurs without anything to soften the metaphor; *e.g.* Fin. 4, 37 *aciem animorum nostrorum virtutis splendore praestringitis.*

nec habet etc.: 'and has no relations with virtue'. The use of *commercium* in the metaphorical sense is common.

9 *invitus feci ut eicerem:* a not unusual periphrasis; *e.g.* Vat. 21 *invitus facio ut recorder;* Lael. 4 *feci ut prodessem* (=*profui*). For the spelling of *eicerem* (*ejicerem* or *eiicerem* would be quite wrong) see my n. on Arch. 10, p. 73 of my ed.

T. Flaminini: see n. on 1, l. 1.

10 *L. Flamininum:* as praetor he commanded the fleet under his brother Titus during the Macedonian war; in 192 B.C. he was consul. *Septem annis* denotes seven *complete* years (cf. n. on 19, l. 6), as Cato was censor in 184. A reference to Livy 39, 43, 2 will shew that Cicero borrows his account of Flamininus' crime from the old annalist Valerius Antias. Livy also quotes (39, 42, 7) an account of the matter given by Cato himself in a speech, which is even more disgraceful to Flamininus.

eicerem: the phrase commonly used is not *eicere* but *movere aliquem senatu. Notare* and *nota* (*censoria*) are technically used of degradation or disfranchisement inflicted by the censors.

11 *fuisset:* the subjunctive should be carefully noted. There is no *necessity* for it, and *fuerat* might be substituted for it without injuring the sense, and indeed would be a more usual construction. The sole cause of the subjunctive is the attraction of the neighbouring verb *eicerem.* An exactly similar passage is Acad. 2, 9 *cum eo Catulus et Lucullus nosque ipsi postridie venissemus quam apud Catulum fuissemus;* cf. also De Or. 2, 7.

12 *cum esset consul in Gallia:* not 'when he was consul in Gaul' but 'when he was in Gaul during his consulship'. *Cum* with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in Cicero often has a sense very little different from that of *cum* with the imperfect or pluperfect indicative. No doubt when the usage originally arose, the clause with *cum* was regarded as expressing the *cause* of the action or event denoted by the principal verb; here the presence of F. in Gaul might be regarded as *a cause* of the crime. It is more than doubtful, however, whether in actual use the subjunctive in these phrases continued to carry with it to Latin readers any idea of cause. On this subject see Roby 1720, Kennedy, Gram. § 211.

exoratus est: 'was persuaded'.

13 *securi feriret:* this is to be taken literally; the story ran that L. Flamininus himself acted as executioner.

eorum qui...essent: the subjunctive because of the class-notion, 'such persons as were'. *Essent* does not of course belong to *damnati*, but is to be taken with *in vinculis*.

14 *Tito censore: i.e.* in 189 B.C.; see n. on 1, l. 5.

15 *fuerat:* for the tense cf. above, l. 2, n.

16 *Flacco:* L. Valerius Flaccus was the life-long friend of Cato, and his colleague in the consulship and in the censorship. He entirely favoured Cato's political views. See Introd. pp. 14, 16, 17, 19.

flagitiosa: 'infamous'; *perdita:* 'abandoned' or 'desperate'.

17 *quae...dedecus:* 'such as brought at once disgrace on the government and infamy on the individual'. Flamininus was at the time Roman governor of the district.

§ 43.

19 *audivi e:* Cic. uses *audire ex*, *ab*, and *de aliquo*, almost indifferently.

porro: 'in turn'; literally 'farther on', here = 'farther back'. Cf. Livy 27, 51 *ut quisque audierat imperatorem occisum, extemplo aliis porro impertierant gaudium suum.*

20 *a senibus:* cf. Lael. 88 *verum illud est quod a Tarentino Archyta dici solitum nostros senes commemorare audivi ab aliis senibus auditum.*

solitum: for the omission of *esse* cf. n. on 22, l. 14.

C. Fabricium: see n. on 15, p. 35, l. 6.

21 *cum...esset:* 'while he was present as envoy at the headquarters of King Pyrrhus'.

Thessalo: for the placing of the epithet in front of the name cf. n. on 13, l. 10.

22 *Cinea:* the famous diplomatist, minister of Pyrrhus. He was a pupil of Demosthenes, and himself one of the most famous orators of his time. Cineas was the ambassador who tried to negotiate peace on the occasion mentioned in 16, l. 9.

se sapientem profiteretur: the omission of *esse* is common in such phrases (and yet it is often inserted); *e.g.* Fin. 5, 13 *Strato physicum se voluit.* Cf. n. on 22, l. 14. Epicurus, who is here meant (born 342 B.C. died 270), was blamed for calling himself *σοφὸς* or *sapiens*. Others, says Cicero, who had borne the title had waited for the public to confer it on them (Fin. 2, 7).

23 *eumque:* the *que* here has almost an adversative force, 'and yet he'; cf. n. on 13, p. 34, l. 9 *vixitque*.

faceremus: for the tense cf. n. on 42, l. 4; also *expeteretur* in l. 31.

ad voluptatem esse referenda: 'must be judged by the standard of pleasure', *i.e.* anything which brought pleasure might be regarded as good, and its opposite bad. So in Greek ἐπαναφέρειν τί εἰς τι. Cf. the common phrases *aliquid voluptate metiri* (below, 45, l. 20) or *ponderare* or *iudicare*.

24 *quod...audientis:* 'and whenever they heard him say this'.

Curium...Coruncanium: see n. on 15, p. 35, l. 6.

25 *optare:* cf. my n. on pro Balbo 9.

Samnitibus: then in alliance with Pyrrhus.

27 *vixerat...cum:* not to be taken literally of living in the same house; the phrase merely indicates close friendship. In Acad. 2, 115 Cic. writes *Diodoto qui mecum vivit tot annos, qui habitat apud me*, clearly shewing that the phrases *vivere cum aliquo* and *habitare apud aliquem* are not equivalent.

P. Decio: this is P. Decius Mus, who at the battle of Sentinum in 295 gave his life as a propitiatory offering to the powers of the unseen world, in order to bring victory to the Roman arms. His father had sacrificed himself in the same way at the battle of Veseris (close to Vesuvius) in 340, fought against the Latins and Campanians.

29 *devoverat:* Liv. 10, 28, 13 (speech of Decius) *datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus; iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri et dis Manibus dabo.*

31 *esse aliquid etc.:* 'that assuredly some principle existed which owed its honour and splendour to nature, which principle was coveted for its own sake, and was pursued by all the best men with a contempt for and neglect of pleasure'. In his philosophical works Cicero often confounds the Epicureans by quoting the action of the Decii and others like it, as shewing that pleasure is not the end of existence. Cf. especially Fin. 2, 61 *P. Decius cum se devoverat et equo admisso in mediam aciem Latinorum irruebat, aliquid de voluptatibus suis cogitabat?* Cf. also below, 75, l. 29. With regard to *natura* see n. on 5, l. 6.

32 *sua sponte:* 'for its own sake'; 'on its own account'. Cf. Leg. 1, 45 *vera et falsa sua sponte non aliena iudicantur*, where a few lines later *sua natura* occurs as equivalent to *sua sponte*.

expeteretur: for reading see Appendix A. The words *expetere expetendum* are technically used in Cicero's philosophical works to express the Greek αἱρεῖσθαι αἱρετὸν as applied to the *finis* or τέλος, the supreme aim of moral action. *Pulchrum* above is a translation of the Greek καλὸν, a term constantly applied to the τέλος, particularly by the Stoics.

spreta et contempta: the first word is much the stronger of the two; *spernere* is καταφρονεῖν, *contemnere* ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι, 'to make light of', 'hold of no account'. *Contemnere* is often no stronger in sense than *omittere*, 'to pass by, neglect'. Cf. 65, l. 27 *contemni et despici*.

§ 44.

33 *quorsum etc.:* for the omission of *dixi* see n. on 3, l. 15.

P. 45.

1 *vituperatio:* so in 39, l. 5. Note the chiasmus in *vituperatio nulla—summa laus;* and cf. n. on 3, l. 6. *Vituperatio* here is not blame, but that which deserves it; so *laus* 'merit', as in Vergil's well-known words *primam merui qui laude coronam.*

3 *exstructis:* 'groaning' as we say. Cf. Tusc. 5, 62 *mensae conquisitissimis epulis exstruebantur.*

4 *frequentibus:* above, n. on 38, l. 30.

cruditate: 'indigestion'.

5 *insomniis:* 'sleeplessness'; the singular *insomnium* occurs only once in prose (Tac. Ann. 11, 4). *Insomnia, ae* is only found in poetry and late prose.

si...voluptati: 'if we must allow some weight to pleasure'; cf. Off. 1, 106 *sin sit quispiam qui aliquid tribuat voluptati.* The elaborate *chiasmus* in this sentence should be remarked (n. on 3, l. 6).

6 *blanditiis:* 'allurements'; frequently used of pleasure, as in Fin. 1, 33 *blanditiis praesentium voluptatum.*

divine: this word in Cic. very commonly means nothing more than 'splendidly', 'extraordinarily.'

7 *escam malorum:* 'an enticement to evil' (*esca = ed-ca*, from the root of *edo*). Plato in the Timaeus 69 D (a dialogue translated into Latin by Cicero, a fragment of whose translation is still preserved) has ἡδονὴν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ. Cf. also Cic. Hortensius fr. 76 (ed. Halm) *voluptates corporis quae vere et graviter a Platone dictae sunt illecebrae esse atque escae malorum.*

9 *modicis:* observe that for the sake of variety Cic. chooses this, not *moderatis*, as the opposite of *immoderatis.* Trans. 'a moderate amount of goodfellowship'.

10 *devicerat:* pluperfect where a modern would incline to use a perfect; see n. on 42, p. 44, l. 2. For the word itself cf. n. on 32, l. 16 *depugnavi.* The battle referred to is that of Mylae, fought in 260; its memory was perpetuated by the decking of the *forum* with the *rostra* of the captured ships; the *columna rostrata* bore a long inscription, a restored version of which still exists.

11 *cena:* so best spelt; some good texts still print *caena*, but *coena* is decidedly wrong, being based on the fiction that the Latin borrowed the Greek word κοινὴ and turned it into *coena.*

12 *cereo funali:* 'the torch-light'; for reading see Appendix A.

funali: the *funale* was a torch composed of withs or twigs twisted into a rope (*funis*) and dipped in pitch or oil.

sibi...sumpserat: Cic. seems to think that Duillius assumed these honours on his own authority. This was probably not the case; they were most likely conferred on him by a vote of the *comitia tributa.* Cf. Liv. epit. 17 *C. Duillius primus omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriae duxit triumphum, ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos*

habitus est, ut revertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur. No other instance is known where these particular distinctions were decreed; the nearest parallel lies in the right accorded to Paulus Macedonicus and to Pompeius to wear the triumphal *toga picta* for life on each occasion of the *ludi*. It may be conjectured that the music and the torch were part of the ceremony on the evening of a triumph when the *triumphator* was escorted home. Cf. Florus 1, 18, 10 (ed. Halm) *Duillius, non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem ubi a cena rediret praelucere funalia et praecinere sibi tibias iussit quasi cotidie triumpharet.*

nullo exemplo: 'without any precedent'.

privatus: any person is *privatus* who is not actually in office at the moment referred to, whether he has led a public life or not.

13 *licentiae:* a strong word is used to mark the heinousness of Duillius' supposed offence against ancestral custom.

dabat: 'excused'; literally 'granted', 'allowed'.

§ 45.

14 *alios: sc. nomino;* see n. on 3, l. 15.

ad me revertar: so 31, l. 11 *ad me redeo,* where see n.

primum: the corresponding *deinde* is omitted, as often.

15 *sodalis:* the *sodalitates* or *sodalitia,* brotherhoods for the perpetuation of certain rites, accompanied with feasting, were immemorial institutions at Rome. The clause *sodalitates...acceptis* must not be taken to mean that Cicero supposed these brotherhoods to have been first instituted in the time of Cato; it is only introduced to shew that Cato, so far from being averse to good living, assisted officially in the establishment of new clubs. Most of the *sodalitates* were closely connected with the *gens;* all members of a *gens* were *sodales* and met together to keep up the old *sacra,* but in historical times fictitious kinship largely took the place of real kinship, and feasting became almost the sole raison d'être of these clubs. [See Mommsen's treatise *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanis.*] The parallel of the London City Companies will occur to every one. The national *sodalitates* or priesthoods such as those of the *Sodales Titii, Luperci, Augustales etc.* were somewhat different.

sodalitates autem: for the form of the parenthesis cf. 7, l. 24.

16 *Magnae Matris:* the image of Cybele was brought to Rome in 204 B.C. from Pessinus in Phrygia. See Liv. 29, 10. The *Sacra* are called *Idaea* from mount Ida in Phrygia, which was a great centre of the worship of Cybele. *Acceptis, sc. in civitatem;* the worship of strange gods was in principle illegal at Rome unless expressly authorised by the State.

igitur: the construction of the sentence is broken by the introduction of the parenthesis, and a fresh start is made with *epulabar igitur. Igitur* is often thus used like our 'well then', to pick up the broken thread of a sentence. So often *sed* or *ergo.* Cf. n. on 26, l. 16.

17 *omnino...sed:* see n. on 28, l. 11.

fervor: cf. Hor. Od. 1, 16, 22 *me quoque pectoris temptavit in dulci iuventa fervor.*

aetatis, qua progrediente: 'belonging to that time of life, but as life advances'. The word *aetas* really here has two senses; in the first place it is *bona aetas* or *iuventus* (cf. 39, l. 6 where *aetas=senectus*), in the second place *vita* (for which see n. on 5, l. 8). Cf. n. on 33, p. 41, l. 1.

18 *neque enim:* the *enim* refers to *modice.*

20 *coetu...sermonibus:* for the order of the words see n. on 1, l. 9 *animi tui.*

metiebar: cf. n. on 43, l. 23 *referenda.*

21 *accubitionem:* a *vox Ciceroniana*, rarely found in other authors.

vitae coniunctionem: 'a common enjoyment of life'.

23 *tum...tum:* here purely temporal, 'sometimes...sometimes'; often however='both...and'; cf. 7, l. 27.

compotationem...concenationem: cf. Fam. 9, 24, 3 *nec id ad voluptatem refero sed ad communitatem vitae atque victus remissionemque amicorum quae maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus, ut sapientius nostri quam Graeci: illi συμπόσια aut σύνδειπνα, id est compotationes aut concenationes, nos convivia, quod tum maxime simul vivitur.*

24 *in eo genere:* see n. on 4, l. 27.

§ 46.

26 *tempestivis quoque conviviis:* 'even in protracted banquets'. Those banquets which began *early* in order that they might last long were naturally in bad repute, so that the phrase *tempestivum convivium* often has almost the sense of 'a debauch'. Thus in Att. 9, 1, 3 Cicero describes himself as being evil spoken of *in tempestivis conviviis*, *i.e.* in dissolute society. The customary dinner hour at Rome was about three o'clock in the afternoon. The word *tempestivos*, which in 5, l. 11 means 'at the right time', here means '*before* the right time'. So in English 'in good time' often means 'too early'.

28 *qui pauci:* the substitution of the nominative of the relative for the dependent genitive (*quorum*) is not uncommon. In 67, l. 20 *qui...nulli* is somewhat different; see my n. there.

pauci admodum: Cic. usually says *admodum pauci* rather than *pauci admodum;* see my n. on Lael. 2, l. 13.

vestra aetate:=eis qui sunt vestra aetate. Cf. n. on 26, l. 16 *senectus.*

29 *habeo...gratiam:* so in 42, l, 5.

30 *sermonis...sustulit:* chiasmus neglected; see on 26, l. 15. Observe the indicatives *auxit, sustulit*, the relative clauses being attributive, though they might fairly have been expected here to be causal. In this passage Cic. imitates Plato; see Appendix B.

potionis et cibi: cf. n. on 36, l. 30 *cibi et potionis.*

31 *ne...voluptati:* this clause is really dependent on some words like *hoc dico* unexpressed, the whole being parenthetical, 'now I say this to prevent you from thinking that I have proclaimed a war against pleasure'. Cf. n. on 52, p. 48, l. 1 *ut...noscatis*, also 55, l. 6 *ne...vindicare. Bellum indicere* is common in the metaphorical sense; *e.g.* De Or. 2, 155 *miror cur philosophiae prope bellum indixeris.*

32 *cuius est etc.:* 'to which there is perhaps a definite limit assigned by nature'; *i.e.* nature sanctions a certain amount of pleasure. This is the Peripatetic notion of the *mean*, to which Cicero often gives expression, as below, 77, l. 30; also in Acad. 1, 39; 2, 139; so Horace Sat. 1, 1, 106 *sunt certi denique fines quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*

33 *non intellego ne:* for the negatives cf. n. on 24, l. 25; 27, l. 29.

P. **46.**

1 *carere sensu:* 'to be deprived of perception'; 'to be callous'.

magisteria: the editors explain this to refer to the practice of appointing at each dinner a 'master of the feast', an *arbiter bibendi* or συμποσιάρχης. I cannot help thinking that this explanation is not quite right. Mommsen shews in his work '*de collegiis*' that each one of the *collegia* or *sodalicia* annually appointed a *magister cenarum* whose duty it was to attend to the club-dinners during his year of office and no doubt to preside at them. That some office is meant more important than that of the *arbiter bibendi* appointed for a particular feast is, I think, shewn by the words *a maioribus instituta.* It is scarcely likely that Cicero was ignorant of the Greek origin of the custom of appointing an *arbiter bibendi.*

2 *et is sermo etc.:* 'and the kind of talk in which following the fashion of our fathers we engage, beginning at the upper table, as the cup goes round'. The cup circulated from left to right, not, as with us, from right to left. The guests at a Roman dinner reclined on three couches, placed at three tables; two of the couches (*lecti*) were parallel and the third at right angles to the other two. The *lectus* at which the cup began to circulate was *summus*, the next *medius*, the last *imus.* For *a summo* cf. *da* (*sc. bibere*) *a summo* in Plaut. Asin. 5, 2, 41.

3 *sicut est:* 'as we find'; so Off. 1, 32 *ut in fabulis est*, and often.

in Symposio: the passage (2, 26) is ἢν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιψεκάζωσιν, οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν, ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ παιγνιωδέστερον ἀφιξόμεθα.

4 *minuta:* see n. on 52, p. 48, l. 5.

rorantia: here with an active sense 'besprinkling' (representing ἐπιψεκάζειν in Xenophon); often however not different in sense from '*rosida*'.

et refrigeratio...hibernus: 'and means of cooling in summer, and again in winter the warmth either of the sun or of a fire'. Cf. closely 57, ll. 7—9. Note the changes of expression in passing from *refrigeratio* to *sol* (*apricatio* would have more exactly corresponded with *refrigeratio*) and from *aestate* to *hibernus* (for *hieme*).

5 *quae quidem;* n. on 14, l. 19.

in Sabinis: 'when with the Sabines', who were celebrated for their simplicity of life. Cf. 24, l. 23.

persequi: 'to seek after'; n. on 16, l. 10.

6 *convivium vicinorum compleo:* 'I make up (*i. e.* to the proper number) a company of my neighbours'. The editors are wrong in making *vicinorum* depend on *compleo* as though the sense were 'I fill up my guest-table *with* my neighbours'.

quod...producimus: 'and we continue our companionship to as late an hour as we can, with changing talk'. The phrases *multa nocte* or *de nocte* 'late in the night', *multo die* 'late in the day', are common; cf. also Att. 13, 9, 1 *multus sermo ad multum diem;* Rep. 6, 10 *sermonem in multam noctem produximus.*

§ 47.

8 *at:* so in 21, l. 23 where see n.

non est...senibus: 'the prick of pleasures, if I may call it so, is not so great in old men'. The *quasi* marks a translation from the Greek, as is very often the case in Cicero's writings. Here the Epicurean word *γαργαλισμὸς* is referred to; it is many times in Cic. represented by *titillatio;* cf. N.D. 1, 113; Fin. 1, 39; Tusc. 3, 47.

9 *credo:* cf. n. on 21, l. 23. 'Yes but neither is the yearning after them; now nothing troubles you for which you feel no yearning'. For *desideratio* cf. n. on 36, p. 42, l. 5 (*desiderium* would have been more usual); for *ne...quidem* n. on 27, l. 28.

10 *bene: sc. dixit;* see n. on 3, l. 15. For Sophocles see 22, l. 6 n.

cum...quaereret: for this clause cf. n. on 13, l. 12.

11 *affecto aetate:* 'wrought on by age'. Cf. De Or. 1, 200 *in eius infirmissima valetudine affectaque iam aetate.*

utereturne etc.: 'whether he still took pleasure in love'. *Uti=frui;* cf. Ovid Met. 4, 259 *dementer amoribus uti* with Cic. Tusc. 4, 68 *venereis voluptatibus frui.*

12 *di meliora: sc. duint* (which old-fashioned form usually occurred, not *dent* or *dederint*, when the phrase was given in full). Cf. Vergil's well-known line *di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum.* The story of Sophocles is taken by Cicero from Plato (see Appendix B) who has *εὐφήμει.* For *di* (not *dii* or *dei*) see n. on 25, l. 31.

istinc etc.: cf. the passage in Plato Rep. 1, 329 C *ἀσμεναίτατα μέντοι αὐτὸ* (*istinc*) *ἀπέφυγον ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγών.* For *istinc* used otherwise than of place cf. *unde* in 12, l. 31 with n.

13 *agresti:* 'boorish'. *Rusticus* simply denotes an ordinary countryman.

14 *odiosum et molestum:* 'troublesome and annoying'. For *odiosum* see n. on 4, l. 22.

satiatis et expletis: the two verbs *satiare* and *explere*, which differ very slightly in meaning, are elsewhere joined together by Cic., as in Parad. 1, 6; cf. also Verr. 3, 100 *expleti atque saturati*.

15 *quamquam...ergo:* these words may be scanned as a hexameter line, but the pause before *ergo* would prevent them from being realised as a verse. See n. on 2, l. 19.

16 *hoc non desiderare:* 'this absence of regret'; the words form the subject of *est*. So *hoc non dolere* in Fin. 2, 18. For the pronoun in agreement with the infinitive treated as noun cf. Persius 1, 9 *istud vivere;* 1, 122 *hoc ridere meum*.

§ 48.

17 *si:* 'even if', 'granting that'.

bona aetas: 'the good time of life', *i.e.* youth. Tischer qu. Varro de re rustica 2, 6, 2 *mares feminaeque bona aetate*=' young'. For *bona aetas*=*homines bona aetate* cf. n. on 26, l. 16 *senectus*.

18 *parvolis fruitur rebus:* 'the objects of enjoyment are trivial', *i.e.* compared with mental enjoyments.

ut diximus: not expressly, but the opinion is implied in §§ 44, 45.

19 *non omnino caret:* cf. 44, ll. 9, 10.

20 *Turpione Ambivio:* L. Ambivius Turpio was the most famous actor of Cato's time, and appeared in Terence's plays, among others. In old Latin commonly (also again in Tacitus) and occasionally in the Latin of the best period, the *cognomen* is placed before the *nomen*, when the *praenomen* is not mentioned. Cf. Att. 11, 12, 1 *Balbo Cornelio*. The usage is commoner in Cicero's writings than in those of his contemporaries.

prima cavea: 'the lower tier'. The later Roman theatres consisted of semicircular or (elliptic) galleries, with rising tiers of seats; the level space partially enclosed by the curve was the *orchestra*, which was bounded by the stage in front. There can be little doubt that Cicero has been guilty of an anachronism here; his words do not suit the circumstances of Cato's time. [Cato himself frustrated an attempt to establish a permanent theatre.] Till nearly the end of the Republic the theatres were rude structures of wood, put up temporarily. It is even doubtful whether they contained seats for the audience. See my n. on Lael. 24, l. 29.

22 *propter:* 'close by'. The adverbial use of *propter* (rarely found if at all out of Cicero) is denied by some scholars, but is well attested by MSS here and in Rosc. Am. 64 and elsewhere.

23 *tantum...est:* these words qualify *delectatur*.

24 *sat:* see n. on 25, p. 38, l. 4.

§ 49.

illa: put for *illud*, as in Greek ταῦτα and τάδε are often put for τοῦτο and τόδε. The words from *animum* to the end of the sentence are explanatory of *illa*. Trans. 'how rich the blessing is, for the mind *etc.*' *Quanti* here is 'how valuable!' but the word may have the exactly opposite meaning if the context require it; thus in N.D. 1, 55 and Rep. 6, 25 the sense is 'how worthless!'

tamquam etc.: 'having passed through the campaign, so to say, of lust and the struggle for power, of strife and enmity, of all passions....' The four words from *libidinis* to *inimicitiarum* are to be taken in pairs (cf. n. on 53, l. 21), while *cupiditatum* sums them up and is in apposition to all.

26 *secum esse:* cf. Tusc. 1, 75 *quid aliud agimus cum a voluptate, id est corpore, cum a re familiari, cum a negotio omni sevocamus animum? quid, inquam, tum agimus nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus secum esse cogimus?* Pers. 4, 52 *tecum habita.*

ut dicitur: see n. on 21, l. 28.

27 *si...aliquod:* the sense is scarcely different from that of *si...quod;* the distinction is as slight as that in English between 'if' followed by 'some', and 'if' followed by 'any'. Cf. my n. on Lael. 24 *si quando aliquid.*

pabulum: for the metaphorical sense (rendered less harsh by *tamquam*) cf. Acad. 2, 127 *est animorum ingeniorumque naturale quoddam quasi pabulum consideratio contemplatioque naturae;* Tusc. 5, 66 *pastus animorum.*

studi: an explanatory genitive dependent on *pabulum*, not (as Allen says) on *aliquod.*

28 *otiosa senectute:* 'leisured age'. *Otium* in the Latin of Cicero does not imply *idleness*, but freedom from public business and opportunity for the indulgence of literary and scientific tastes.

videbamus: for the tense cf. Lael. 37 *Gracchum rem publicam vexantem ab amicis derelictum videbamus, i.e.* 'we saw over a considerable period'. See also 50, l. 11; 77, l. 31; 79, l. 23.

29 *in studio etc.:* 'busied with the task of almost measuring bit by bit (*di-metiendi*) the heaven and the earth'. For the reading here see Appendix A; for the sense cf. Hor. Od. 1, 28 (of Archytas) *te maris et terrae numeroque carentis arenae mensorem* and *nec quidquam tibi prodest aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum percurrisse polum.*

Gallum: consul in 157 B.C., famous as an astronomer and as the first Roman who predicted an eclipse (Liv. 44, 37), before the battle of Pydna.

30 *patris tui:* see n. on 15, p. 35, l. 5.

31 *describere:* technically used of the drawing of mathematical figures. *Ingredior* often has an infinitive dependent on it even in the best Latin; *e.g.* Cic. Top. 1 *nos maiores res scribere ingressos.*

oppressit: 'surprised'.

33 *multo ante*: see n. on 6, l. 16.

§ 50. P. 47.

1 *acutis:* the editors interpret *acuta studia* to mean *studia quae acumen* (keenness of intellect) *requirunt*. But *studium* implies not intellectual qualities but moral (zeal, enthusiasm, earnestness, devotion), and I have found no passage where a purely intellectual attribute goes with the word. I believe Cicero wrote *acribus;* cf. De Or. 1, 79 *studium acerrimum*, 'a most absorbing (or earnest) pursuit'. Cicero several times has *recta studia, i.e.* zeal accompanied by moral earnestness.

2 *Naevius:* see n. on 20, l. 18.

Truculento...Pseudolo: these plays of Plautus (lived from 254 to 184 B.C.) we still possess. The Truculentus is so named from one of the characters, a slave of savage disposition who is wheedled; the Pseudolus from a cheating slave. The latter name is commonly supposed to be a transcription from a Greek word ψευδύλος, which however never occurs; and as the change from Greek *υ* to Latin *o* is not found before *l*, Corssen assumes ψεύδ-αλος as the original word. The form *Pseudulus* of the name is probably later than *Pseudolus*.

3 *Livium:* Livius Andronicus, the founder of Latin literature (lived from about 285 to 204 B.C.), who translated the Odyssey, also many Greek tragedies. Livius was a Greek captured by Livius Salinator at Tarentum in 275 B.C.; for a time he was the slave of Livius, and, according to custom, took his name when set free. For an account of his writings see Cruttwell's Hist. of Roman Literature ch. iii.

4 *docuisset:* 'had brought on to the stage'. *Docere* (like διδάσκειν in Greek, which has the same use) meant, originally, to instruct the performers in the play.

Centone Tuditanoque consulibus: i.e. in 240 B.C. The use of *que* here is noticeable; when a date is given by reference to the consuls of the year it is usual to insert *et* (not *que* or *atque*, which rarely occur) between the two names, if only the *cognomina* (as here) be given. If the full names be given, then they are put side by side without *et*. Cf. n. on 10, p. 33, l. 2.

5 *processit aetate:* cf. 21, l. 26 n.

6 *Crassi:* see n. on 27, l. 7.

pontifici et civilis iuris: the *ius pontificium* regarded mainly the proper modes of conducting religious ceremonial. *Ius civile*, which is often used to denote the whole body of Roman Law, here includes only the secular portion of that Law. Cf. n. on 38, l. 24.

7 *huius P. Scipionis:* 'the present P. Scipio'. So in 14, l. 21 *hi consules* 'the present consuls'; Rep. 1, 14 *Africanus hic Pauli filius*, and often; cf. n. on 68, l. 30. The P. Scipio who is meant here is not Africanus, but Nasica Corculum.

9 *flagrantis:* 'all aglow'; so *ardere studio* in Acad. 2, 65.

senes:=*cum senes essent;* so *senem* in l. 3; cf. n. on 26, l. 22.

10 *suadae medullam:* 'the essence (lit. marrow) of persuasiveness'. The lines of Ennius are preserved by Cicero, Brut. 58 *M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor Q. Ennius...est igitur sic apud illum in nono ut opinor annali...is dictust ollis popularibus olim Qui tum vivebant homines atque aevom agitabant Flos delibatus populi suadaque medulla. Suada* is a translation of πειθώ, which the Greek rhetoricians declared to be the end and aim of oratory. This Cethegus was consul in 204 and in 203 defeated Mago in the N. of Italy.

exerceri: here reflexive in meaning.

11 *videbamus:* see n. on 49, l. 28.

13 *comparandae:* for the idea of *possibility* which the gerundive sometimes has (but only in negative sentences or interrogative sentences implying a negative answer, and in conditional clauses) see Roby § 1403; also cf. 64, ll. 18—20.

haec quidem: for the omission of *sunt* cf. n. on 19, l. 23. We have here a short summary of the preceding arguments, preparatory to a transition to a new subject, introduced by *venio nunc ad.* The succession of two clauses both containing *quidem* seems awkward, but occurs in Fin. 5, 80 and elsewhere.

15 *ut honestum illud Solonis sit:* 'so that the saying of Solon does him honour'.

16 *ut ante dixi:* in § 26, where see the notes.

17 *potest esse:* Meissner (n. on § 27) says that Cicero's rule is to say *potest esse*, *debet esse* and the like, not *esse potest* and the like. It is true that *esse* in such cases is very seldom separated from the word on which it depends, but *esse potest* is just as common as *potest esse;* the difference to the sense is one of emphasis only, the *esse* having more emphasis thrown on it in the latter case.

§ 51.

19 *nec...et:* so in 53, l. 17 and often; see my n. on Lael. 30 *suaque omnia;* also cf. n. on *et...nec* in 7, l. 33.

20 *mihi...videntur:* see Introd. p. 13.

habent rationem cum: 'they have their reckonings with', 'their dealings with'; a phrase of book-keeping.

21 *imperium:* so Verg. Georg. 1, 99 *exercetque frequens tellurem atque imperat agris;* ib. 2, 369 *dura exerce imperia et ramos compesce fluentes;* Tac. Germ. 26 *sola terrae seges imperatur.*

22 *sed alias...faenore:* put for *sed semper cum faenore, alias minore, plerumque maiore.*

24 *vis ac natura:* 'powers and constitution'. These two words are very often used by Cic. together, as in Fin. 1, 50 *vis ac natura rerum.*

25 *gremio:* so Lucret. 1, 250 *pereunt imbres ubi eos pater aether In gremium matris terrai praecipitavit,* imitated by Verg. Georg. 2, 325.

mollito ac subacto: *i.e.* by the plough. *Subigere* ('subdue') is a technical word of agriculture; so Verg. Georg. 2, 50 *scrobibus subactis;* see also below 59, l. 26.

26 *occaecatum:* 'hidden'. *Caecus* has the sense of 'unseen' as well as that of 'unseeing' or 'blind'.

27 *occatio:* Cicero's derivation, as well as Varro's, de re rust. 1, 31, 1, from *occidere* (because the earth is cut up) is unsound. *Occa* is *rastrum,* probably from its *sharp* points (root *ak-;* so Corssen); *occatio* therefore is 'harrowing'.

28 *vapore:* 'heat'. This word has not in the best Latin the meaning of our 'vapour'.

compressu: a word only found here in Cicero's writings and elsewhere in Latin only in the ablative case, like so many other nouns whose stem ends in *-u.*

diffundit et elicit: 'expands and lures forth'.

herbescentem: this word occurs nowhere else in Latin.

29 *fibris stirpium:* so Tusc. 3, 13 *radicum fibras.*

30 *geniculato:* 'knotted'. The verb *geniculo* (from *genu*) scarcely occurs excepting in the passive participle, which is always used, as here, of plants. So Plin. Nat. Hist. 16, 158 *geniculata cetera gracilitas nodisque distincta* (speaking of the *harundo*).

31 *spici:* besides *spica,* the forms *spicum* (which Cic. uses elsewhere) and *spicus* are occasionally found. *Spici* here is explanatory of *frugem.* Those editors are wrong who take *spici ordine structam* together, as though the sense were 'built up in the regular shape of an ear'.

32 *vallo:* for the metaphor compare N.D. 2, 143 *munitae sunt palpebrae tamquam vallo pilorum;* Lucr. 2, 537 *elephantos, India quorum milibus e multis vallo munitur eburno* (where Munro seems to think, surely without need, that some fable of an actual wall of ivory is alluded to).

§ 52.

33 *quid ego...commemorem:* this and similar formulae for passing to a new subject are common; cf. 53, l. 23 *quid ego...proferam;* 57, l. 2 *quid...dicam.* Often *nam* precedes the *quid,* as in Lael. 104. The *ego* here is not otiose, as Allen says, but has some emphasis. Cato means that his own devotion to viniculture was so well known as not to need description.

ortus satus incrementa: 'origin, cultivation and growth'. For the omission of the copula see n. on 53, l. 21.

P. 48.

1 *ut:* final, and slightly elliptic ('I say this that *etc.*'); so in 6, l. 15; 24, l. 22; 56, l. 29; 59, l. 17; 82, l. 19. Similar slight ellipses with *ne* are common, as in 46, l. 31 where see n.

2 *requietem:* the best MSS of Cic. sometimes give the other form *requiem*, as in Arch. 13.

3 *vim ipsam:* 'the inherent energy'.

omnium...terra: a common periphrasis for 'all plants'; cf. *e.g.* N.D. 2, 120. Latin has no one word to comprehend all vegetable products. The word *planta*, which comes in l. 5, means merely 'sapling trees'.

quae...procreet: 'able to generate'.

4 *tantulo:* strictly elliptic, implying *quantulum re vera est.* In such uses *tantus* and *tantulus* come to be little different from *magnus* and *parvus;* they are only more emphatic. Cf. 37, l. 10 n.

acini vinaceo: 'a grape-pip'.

5 *minutissimis:* used here for *minimis.* Strictly, *minutus* ought to be used of things which are fragments of larger things, *minutus* being really the participle passive of *minuo.* In a well-known passage (Orat. 94) Cic. himself calls attention to the theoretical incorrectness of the use, which is however found throughout Latin literature. Cf. 46, p. 46, l. 4 *pocula minuta;* also below, 85, l. 1 *minuti philosophi*, with n.

6 *malleoli:* vine-cuttings, so called because at the point where they joined the parent stem, and where the incision was made, they were shaped like a hammer.

plantae: tree-cuttings; shoots springing out of the trunk. *Sarmenta* are young twigs springing from a branch, not from the trunk.

viviradices: new plants formed by dividing the roots of the mother plant.

propagines: new plants formed by rooting a shoot in the earth without severing it from the parent plant; Verg. Georg. 2, 26.

7 *nonne...delectent:* 'do they not succeed in conveying, to any man whatever, pleasure combined with wonder?' Cf. Fam. 5, 12, 5 *quem enim nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectet?*

8 *nisi fulta est:* 'unless it has been previously supported'.

9 *eadem:* n. on 4, l. 28.

claviculis: cf. N.D. 2, 120 *vites sic claviculis adminicula tamquam manibus apprehendunt atque se ita erigunt ut animantes.*

11 *ars agricolarum:* *agricolae arte freti*, a strong instance of the abstract put for the concrete.

12 *ne silvescat sarmentis:* 'lest it run to wood'; literally 'lest it become a wood by means of shoots'.

§ 53.

13 *eis:* *sc. sarmentis*, those which have not been pruned away by the knife.

exsistit: 'springs up'. *Exsistere* in good Latin never has the meaning of our 'exist', *i.e.* '*to be in* existence', but always means '*to come into* existence'.

14 *articulos:* 'joints'; cf. 51, l. 30 *culmo geniculato.* The word *tamquam* softens the metaphor in *articuli,* which properly would be used only of the joints in the limbs of animals.

ea quae: by attraction for *id quod;* see n. on 35, l. 23. As regards the whole phrase *ea quae gemma dicitur*='the so-called bud', see n. on 14, l. 16. Cicero took the meaning 'gem' or 'jewel' to be the primary sense of *gemma* and considered that the application to a bud was metaphorical. See the well-known passages, Orat. 81 and De Or. 3, 155.

16 *gustatu:* the word *gustu,* given here by some MSS, was probably never used by Cic.

17 *vestita pampinis:* 'arrayed in the young foliage'.

nec...et: see n. on 51, l. 19.

18 *defendit:* 'keeps aloof'.

fructu...aspectu: ablatives of respect, like *gustatu* above and *usu... specie* in 57, l. 5. See n. on 24, l. 25.

19 *cuius quidem:* n. on 14, l. 19.

21 *capitum iugatio:* 'the linking together of their tops'; *i.e.* the uniting of the tops of the stakes by cross-stakes. So the editors; but Conington on Verg. Georg. 2, 355 seems to take *capita* of the top-foliage of the vines, an interpretation which is quite possible. Those editors are certainly wrong who remove the comma after *iugatio* and place it after *religatio,* as though *et* were omitted between the two words. In enumerations of more than two things Cic. either omits the copula altogether or inserts it before each word after the first; but in enumerating two things *et* cannot be omitted, except where there are several *sets* or *pairs* of things. Cf. n. on 13, p. 34, l. 5.

religatio: *i.e.* the tying down of shoots so as to cause them to take root in the earth. *Religatio* seems to occur here only.

22 *quam dixi:* n. on 14, l. 16.

23 *aliorum immissio:* 'the granting free scope to others'. *Immissio* scarcely occurs elsewhere in good Latin. The metaphor is from letting loose the reins in driving; cf. Verg. Georg. 2, 364 *dum se laetus ad auras palmes agit laxis per purum immissus habenis;* Plin. n. h. 16, 141 *cupressus immittitur in perticas asseresque amputatione ramorum;* Varro r.r. 1, 31, 1 *vitis immittitur ad uvas pariendas.* Allen and others, referring to Columella de Arbor. c. 7, take the word to mean the setting in the earth of a shoot in order that it may take root before being separated from the parent stem. The context, however, is against this interpretation.

irrigationes etc.: the plurals denote more markedly than singulars would the repetition of the actions expressed by these words.

24 *repastinationes:* 'repeated hoeings'. The *pastinum* was a kind of pitchfork, used for turning over the ground round about the vines, particularly when the young plants were being put in.

multo terra fecundior: see n. on 3, l. 9.

§ 54.

25 *in eo libro:* see Introd. p. 22.

26 *doctus:* often used of poets, not only by Cicero but by most other Latin writers, more particularly by the elegiac poets; see also n. on 13, l. 14. The position of the attribute *before* the name should be noticed. Cf. n. on 13, p. 34, l. 10 *Leontinus Gorgias.*

Hesiodus: the oldest Greek poet after Homer. The poem referred to here is the Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, which we still possess, along with the Theogony and the Shield of Heracles.

27 *cum...scriberet:* '*though* he wrote'.

28 *saeculis:* 'generations', as in 24, l. 29.

fuit:=*vixit*, as often; see n. on 21, l. 27.

Laerten: the passage referred to is no doubt the touching scene in Odyss. 24, 226, where Odysseus, after killing the suitors, finds his unhappy old father toiling in his garden. In that passage nothing is said of *manuring.*

29 *lenientem...filio:* 'trying to soothe the pain he felt on his son's account'. For *lenientem* cf. 11, l. 18 n.; for *capiebat* the common phrases *dolorem, gaudium capere ex aliqua re.*

colentem etc.: the introduction of another participle to explain *lenientem* is far from elegant. *Cultione agri* (as in 56, l. 24) or something of the kind might have been expected. The collocation of *appetentem* with *occupatum* in 56, l. 20 is no less awkward.

30 *facit:* 'represents'; see n. on 3, l. 11.

nec vero...laetae sunt: 'not only however is the farmer's life gladdened by crops *etc.*'

32 *tum:* often used thus in enumerations, without any reference to time; *e.g.* Lael. 57.

apium: this form is oftener found in the best MSS, of prose writers at least, than the other form *apum*, which probably was not used by Cic.

33 *omnium:*=*omnis generis.*

consitiones...insitiones: 'planting...grafting'. On the varieties of grafting and the skill required for it see Verg. Georg. 2, 73 sq.

§ 55. P. 49.

3 *possum:* see n. on 24, l. 22.

persequi: n. on 16, l. 10.

5 *provectus sum:* 'I have been carried away'. Cicero very often uses *prolabi* in the same sense. Some editors have mistaken the word to mean 'I have grown old', understanding *aetate,* as above, 10, l. 30, and in Lael. 34.

6 *ne...vindicare:* cf. n. on 46, p. 45, l. 31.

7 *in hac...consumpsit:* Cic. probably never used (as later writers did) *consumere* with a simple ablative, unless of a noun used adverbially.

Curius: see n. on 15, p. 35, l. 6.

9 *tempus aetatis:* n. on 2, p. 30, l. 5.

10 *a me:*=*a mea villa;* cf. 3, l. 11, with n.

admirari satis non possum: a very favourite form of expression with Cicero; *e.g.* De Or. 1, 165.

11 *disciplinam:* 'morals'; literally 'teaching'.

§ 56.

12 *Curio:* Plutarch, Cat. 2, says the ambassadors found him cooking a dinner of herbs, and that Curius sent them away with the remark that a man who dined in that way had no need of gold. The present was not brought as a bribe, since the incident took place after the war. Curius had become *patronus* of the Samnites, and they were bringing the customary offering of *clientes;* see Rep. 3, 40.

15 *poteratne:* 'could so high a spirit bring about anything but a pleasant old age?' *Ne* here has, rather unusually, the force of *num;* so Fin. 3 44; Acad. 2, 116.

efficere non iucundam: n. on 2, p. 30, l. 3.

16 *sed venio ad:* so in 51, l. 18 *venio nunc ad. Redeo ad* (see n. on 32, l. 11) might have been expected here.

17 *in agris erant:* 'lived on their farms'. For *erant* cf. n. on 21, l. 27.

id est senes: cf. 19, l. 12 with n.

18 *Cincinnato:* L. Quinctius Cincinnatus is said to have been twice dictator; in 458 B.C., when he saved the Roman army, which was surrounded by the Aequians, and ended the war in sixteen days from his appointment; also in 439 when Maelius was killed and Cincinnatus was eighty years old. In our passage Cic. seems to assume only one dictatorship. The story of Cincinnatus at the plough is told in Livy 3, 26.

19 *factum:* the technical term was *dicere dictatorem,* since he was nominated by the consul on the advice of the senate.

cuius: not in agreement with, but in apposition to *dictatoris;* see n. on 10, l. 32.

20 *Maelium:* a rich plebeian, who distributed corn in time of famine and was charged with courting the people in order to make himself a king. Ahala summoned him before the dictator, and because he did not immediately obey, killed him with his own hand. For this Ahala became one of the heroes of his nation. See Liv. 4, 13.

appetentem:=*quia appetebat;* so *occupatum*=*cum occupasset.*

21 *arcessebatur:* as the verb precedes its subjects and the nearest subject is singular the verb is allowed to be singular; had it stood after *senes* it must almost necessarily have been plural. Cf. Lael. 14 *cum et Philus et Manilius adesset et alii plures;* also n. on 7, p. 32, l. 5 above.

22 *viatores:* literally 'travellers', so 'messengers'. They formed a regularly organised corporation at Rome and were in attendance on many of the magistrates. Those officers who had the *fasces* had also lictors, who, however, generally remained in close attendance and were not despatched on distant errands. The statement of Cic. in the text is repeated almost *verbatim* by Plin. n.h. 18, 21.

23 *miserabilis:* 'to be pitied'. The word does not quite answer to our 'miserable'.

24 *agri cultione:* a rare expression, found elsewhere only in Verr. 3, 226; then not again till the 'Fathers'.

25 *haud scio an nulla:* since *haud scio an* is affirmative in Cicero, not negative as in some later writers, *nulla* must be read here, not *ulla*. Cf. 73, l. 16 *haud scio an melius Ennius*, 'probably Ennius speaks better'; also 74, l. 25 *incertum an hoc ipso die*, 'possibly to-day'.

officio: 'in point of duty', 'if duty be considered'.

27 *quam dixi:=de qua dixi*, as in 53, l. 22; see n. on 14, l. 16.

saturitate: the word is said to occur nowhere else in Latin.

29 *ut...redeamus:* for the ellipse see n. on 52, p. 48, l. 1 *ut...noscatis*.

quidam: *i.e.* the authors of the *tertia vituperatio senectutis*, whom Cato refutes in §§ 39, 59.

32 *porco...gallina:* these words are used collectively, as *rosa* often is; so Fin. 2, 65 *potantem in rosa Thorium*.

33 *iam:* 'further'.

succidiam alteram: 'a second meat-supply'. The word seems to be connected with *caedo*, and probably originally meant 'slaughter'. In a fragment of Cato preserved by Gellius 13, 24, 12 (in some editions 13, 25, 12) we find *succidias humanas facere*. Varro r. r. 2, 14 has the word in the sense of 'meat'.

P. 50.

1 *conditiora facit:* 'adds a zest to'; cf. *condita* in 10, l. 27. Above we have (56, l. 15) *efficere non iucundam senectutem;* see n. on 2, p. 30, l. 3.

supervacaneis operis: 'by the use of spare time'; literally 'by means of toils that are left over', *i.e.* after completing the ordinary work of the farm. *Supervacuus*, which inferior MSS sometimes give for *supervacaneus*, was not used by Cic.

§ 57.

3 *ordinibus:* cf. 59, l. 25 with n.

4 *brevi praecidam:* 'I will cut the matter short'. For *praecidam* (*sc. rem* or *sermonem*) cf. Acad. 2, 133 *praecide* (*sc. sermonem*); for *brevi*

(='in brief', ἐν βραχεῖ) cf. De Or. 1, 34 *ne plura consecter comprehendam brevi.*

5 *usu uberius:* cf. 53, l. 18 *fructu laetius...aspectu pulchrius.*

ad quem...retardat: some editors have thought that there is zeugma here, *ad* being supposed to be only suitable for *invitat*, not for *retardat.* That this is not the case is clear from such passages as Caes. B. G. 7, 26, 2 *palus Romanos ad insequendum tardabat* (= *tardos faciebat*); Cic. Sull. 49 *nullius amicitia ad pericula propulsanda impedimur.*

6 *invitat atque allectat:* one of the 'doublets' of which Cicero is so fond; cf. Lael. 99 *allectant et invitant.*

9 *refrigerari:* cf. 46, p. 46, l. 4 *refrigeratio aestate.*

§ 58.

sibi habeant: sc. iuvenes; contemptuous, as in Lael. 18 *sibi habeant sapientiae nomen;* Sull. 26 *sibi haberent honores, sibi imperia etc.;* cf. the formula of Roman divorce, *tu tuas res tibi habeto.* For the repetition of *sibi* see n. on 13, p. 34, l. 3.

10 *hastas:* in practising, the point was covered by a button (*pila*); cf. Liv. 26, 51 (qu. by Meissner) *praepilatis missilibus iaculati sunt.;* also n. on 19, l. 9.

clavam: cf. Vegetius de re mil. 1, 11 *clavas ligneas pro gladiis tironibus dabant, eoque modo exercebantur ad palos;* Iuv. 6, 247 *quis non vidit vulnera pali quem cavat assiduis sudibus.* The *palus* is called *stipes* by Martial 7, 32.

pilam...venationes cursus: all national amusements, well known to readers of Horace.

11 *talos...tesseras: tali,* 'knucklebones', were oblong, and rounded at the two ends; the sides were numbered 1 and 6 (1 being opposite to 6), 3 and 4. Four *tali* were used at a time and they (like the *tesserae*) were generally thrown from a box (*fritillus*). The *tesserae* (of which three were used at a time) were cubes, with the sides numbered from 1 to 6 in such a way that the numbers on two opposite sides always together made 6. A separate name was used by dicers for almost every possible throw of the *tesserae* and *tali.* The two best known are *canis*, when all the dice turned up with the same number uppermost; and *venus*, when they all shewed different numbers. The word *alea* was general; in fact it was applicable to games of chance of every kind. These games, which were forbidden by many ineffectual laws ('*vetita legibus alea*') were held to be permissible for old men; see Mayor on Iuv. 14, 4.

12 *ut lubebit:* for reading see Appendix A. The ellipse of *faciunt* has many parallels in Cicero.

§ 59.

15 *legite:* '*continue* to read'. Cf. De Or. 1, 34 *pergite, ut facitis, adulescentes.* In Tusc. 2, 62 it is stated that Africanus was a great reader of Xenophon.

16 *libro qui est de:* so in Fat. 1 *libris qui sunt de natura deorum*, and similarly elsewhere; but the periphrasis is also often avoided, as in Off. 2, 16 *Dicaearchi liber de interitu hominum*.

17 *qui: quique* might have been expected, but the words above *qui... familiari* are regarded as parenthetic.

Oeconomicus: for Cicero's translation from this work see Appendix B.

inscribitur: see n. on 13, l. 8.

ut intellegatis: n. on 52, p. 48, l. 1.

18 *regale:* 'worthy of a king'; different from *regium*, which would mean 'actually characteristic of kings'. Yet Cic. sometimes interchanges the words; thus *regalis potestas* in Har. Resp. 54 is the same as *regia potestas* in Phil. 1, 3.

19 *loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum etc.:* 'discourses with Critobulus of how Cyrus *etc.*'. The construction of *loqui* with acc. and inf. belongs to colloquial Latin, as does the construction *loqui aliquam rem* for *de aliqua re;* cf. Att. 1, 5, 6 *mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse;* ib. 9, 13, 1 *mera scelera locuntur.*

Cyrum minorem: Cyrus the younger (cf. 79, l. 20 *Cyrus maior*), well known from Xenophon's *Anabasis.* As Cyrus never arrived at the throne (having been killed at Cunaxa in 401 in his attempt to oust his brother the king with the help of the 10,000 Greeks) *regem* is used in the sense of 'prince', as in Verr. 4, 61 and elsewhere; βασιλεὺς is used in exactly the same way in a passage of the Oeconomicus which comes a little before the one Cic. is here rendering (4, 16).

20 *Lysander:* the great commander who won the battle of Aegospotamos in 405 B.C. against the Athenians.

21 *venisset ad eum Sardis:* 'had come to Sardis to visit him'.

22 *ceteris:* n. on 3, l. 6.

communem: some MSS and editors have *comem*, which would have exactly the same sense; see Appendix A.

23 *consaeptum agrum:* 'park'; the phrase is a translation of Xenophon's παράδεισον; this will account for the omission of *et* before *diligenter consitum*.

24 *diligenter:* 'carefully'; see n. on 35, l. 27.

25 *proceritates:* the plural probably indicates the height of each *kind* of tree.

quincuncem: thus: ⁙ ⁙ ⁙ ⁙ This was the order of battle in the Roman army during a great part of its history. The cause for this application of the term is rather difficult to see; it originally meant five-twelfths of an *uncia;* possibly it was thus applied because by drawing lines between the points the letter V (five) might be produced. As regards its application to trees, see Verg. Georg. 2, 277—284.

26 *subactam:* see n. on 51, l. 25.

puram: so our farmers talk of 'cleaning' the land.

29 *dimensa:* notice the passive use of this participle, originally deponent, and cf. n. on 4, l. 28 *adeptam.*

discripta: 'arranged'; so *discriptio* a little farther on. Cf. n. on 5, l. 8.

33 *ornatum:* 'costume', used by Latin writers of any dress a little unfamiliar. So in Plaut. Miles 4, 4, 41 (1177 R) *ornatus nauclericus.*

P. 51.

1 *beatum ferunt: sc. esse;* for the omission cf. n. on 22, l. 13.

§ 60.

3 *impedit: sc. nos;* with this construction the pronoun is always omitted.

ceterarum: n. on 3, l. 6.

5 *Valerium:* when a young man, in 349 B.C., he engaged in combat with a Gaul, in sight of the Roman and Gallic armies, and conquered him, with the aid of a raven (*corvus*); hence the name Corvinus. His first consulship was in 348, his last in 299; Cic. has miscalculated. Valerius was also twice dictator and is said to have altogether held 21 turns of curule offices.

6 *perduxisse: sc. agri colendi studia* (not *vitam*, as Nägelsbach explains). A very similar passage is in Lael. 33 *quod puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga deponerentur; sin autem ad adulescentiam perduxissent* ...(*sc. amores*).

esset: 'lived'; cf. n. on 21, l. 27.

7 *aetate:* here = the vigorous period of life; cf. *bona aetas* in 48, l. 14.

8 *interfuerunt:* n. on 16, l. 17.

9 *ad senectutis initium: i.e.* from birth. For the meaning of *senectus* see n. on 4, l. 32.

10 *tantus...fuit:* 'over such a space did his official career extend'. For *cursus* Cic. says sometimes, as in De Or. 1, 1, *decursus honorum;* so Tacitus Hist. 1, 48 (al. *cursu*).

huius: it is not very common to find *ille* and *hic* in the same sentence referring to the same person. *Eius* would here have been more regular. Cf. my n. on Acad. 1, 1; also on Lael. 59, l. 23.

11 *media:* cf. n. on 33, p. 41, l. 4.

auctoritatis...minus: chiasmus avoided; see n. on 26, l. 15.

12 *apex:* 'the crown'. The word probably meant originally 'knot', being connected with *ap-tus ap-isci ap-ere* and other words containing the idea of binding fast or grasping. It was properly applied to the olive-twig bound round with wool, which was stuck in the cap worn by the *flamines* and *salii.* It is sometimes employed to translate διάδημα (a word of similar original meaning), the royal *insigne,* as in Horace, Odes 3, 21, 20 *regum apices,* with which cf. Odes 1, 34, 14. The word is scarcely found elsewhere in a metaphorical sense. Our passage is

imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus (a great imitator of Cicero) 27, 7, 2 *Rufinus velut apicem honoratae senectutis praetendens.* [The story of Tarquinius Priscus evidently originated in Greek, where the eagle was described as setting a diadem on the future monarch's head. Cicero Leg. 1, 4 uses the word *apex*, but Livy 1, 34 loses the whole point of the story by substituting *pilleus;* the action of the eagle in removing and replacing an ordinary cap becomes thoroughly meaningless.]

§ 61.

13 *Metello:* see n. on 30, l. 30.

A. Atilio Calatino: consul in 258 B.C. and again in 254; dictator in 249, censor in 247. Cicero classed him with old heroes like Curius and Fabricius (Planc. 60). His tomb was on the *via Appia* outside the *Porta Capena*, close to the well-known tomb of the Scipios (see Tusc. 1, 13).

14 *in quem...elogium:* 'in whose honour there is the inscription'. With *in quem=de quo* cf. the occasional occurrence of κατά τινος in the sense of περί τινος.

elogium: Greek ἐλεγεῖον: for the representation of ε by *o* cf. *oliva* with ἔλαια, and Plautus' *lopadas* for λέπαδας.

15 *hunc etc.:* the inscription (which is quoted as here by Cicero in Fin. 2, 116) is strikingly like that on the tomb of *Scipio Barbatus* which has actually come down to us, and thus begins (in Ritschl's recension):

honc oino ploirime cosentiont Romai
duonoro optumo fuise viro viroro

i.e. hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum virorum. Ritschl thus completes the *elogium* of Atilius, by comparison with others still preserved: *dictator* (ending the second line), *Consul, censor, aedilis hic fuit apud vos.* But Cicero's words (*notum... sepulcro*) seem to imply a longer inscription than one of three lines; the analogy of the Scipionic inscriptions points the same way. The older monumental inscriptions of Rome were written in the Saturnian metre, which depended partly on accent. The normal line ran thus:

◡ ∸ ◡ – ◡ ∸ ⏓ | ∸ ◡ – ◡ ∸ ⏓

but there were many deviations.

16 *populi:* dependent on *primarium virum;* 'the first man of all the nation'. *Unum* intensifies *primarium*, 'the very first'; cf. the common use of *unus* with a superlative adjective, *iustissimus unus* and the like.

17 *notum est etc.:* cf. 16, l. 14.

gravis: note the omission of *erat*, for which cf. 11, l. 15.

18 *esset consentiens:* cf. n. on 26, l. 18.

19 *nuper:* like *modo* (for which see n. on 27, p. 39, l. 7) *nuper* is loosely used, and has its meaning defined by the context. Cf. my n. on Lael. 13, l. 10. In Plin ep. 1, 2, 2 the orator Calvus (a younger contemporary of Cicero) is said to have existed *nuper*.

20 *Lepidum: pontifex maximus* from 180 B.C., consul in 187 and in 175; censor in 179; he is said to have been chosen *princeps senatus* by six sets of censors in succession, and died in 152.

21 *Paulo:* see 29, l. 21 (*L. Aemilius*) with n.

22 *Maximo:* see §§ 10 *sq.*

sententia: i.e. a set speech in the senate. Cf. De Or. 1, 38 *is non accurata orationis copia, sed nutu atque verbo libertinos in urbanas tribus transtulit.*

23 *honorata:* n. on 22, l. 5.

§ 62.

25 *in omni oratione:* 'everywhere throughout my speech'. *Tota oratione* would have meant 'my speech viewed as a whole'.

26 *eam...sit:* 'such as has been firmly established upon foundations laid in youth'.

29 *defenderet:* the tense is accommodated to that of *dixi*, according to Latin custom; see n. on 42, l. 4.

cani: sc. capilli; the same ellipse is found in Ovid. Cf. *calda* (*sc. aqua*), *laurea* (*sc. corona*), *natalis* (*sc. dies*), *Latinae* (*sc. feriae*), *etc.*

31 *fructus...extremos:* 'receives the reward of influence at the last'.

§ 63. P. 52.

1 *appeti:* 'to be courted'; *decedi:* 'to take precedence' (literally 'that there should be a yielding of the way').

assurgi: 'the honour shewn by rising'. Cf. Iuv. 13, 54 *credebant grande nefas et morte piandum si iuvenis vetulo non assurrexerat*, where see Mayor's note.

deduci reduci: 'the escort from home and the attendance homewards'. The difference between these two words, which has often been misunderstood (see my n. on Acad. 1, 9), is shewn by Val. Max. 2, 1, 9 *iuvenes senatus die utique aliquem ex patribus conscriptis ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis exspectabant donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur.*

consuli: probably refers to private legal consultations as well as to the deliberations of the senate.

2 *ut quaeque optime:* Cic. often uses *ut quisque* with superlatives, *ita* following; see my n. on Lael. 19, l. 23. In l. 16 *maxime* is omitted. Translate *ut...ita* 'in proportion as...so'.

4 *modo:* in § 59.

dicere aiunt: see 27, p. 39, l. 3 n.

solitum: esse omitted as in 22, l. 13, where see n.

Lacedaemonem...domicilium: Allen (after Gronovius) qu. Ovid. Met. 3, 636 *Naxon...illa mihi domus est;* Plaut. Mil. 2, 5, 40 *ostium hoc mihi domicilium est* (some edd. however now read *hosticum*). Some editions here give *Lacedaemone.*

7 *memoriae proditum est:* in Verr. 5, 36 Cic. uses *ad memoriam* instead of the dative. The best writers have *memoriae prodere* and *prodi* ('*for the recollection of* posterity'), *memoria prodi* ('to be handed down *by* tradition'), but not *memoria prodere.*

Athenis ludis: the juxtaposition of ablatives (*ludis* marks the time 'when games were going on') seems awkward, but such uses are uncommon; see my n. on pro Balbo 25, l. 22. The story that follo is told in almost the same words by Val. Max. 4, 5 ext. 2.

8 *grandis natu:* see n. on 10, l. 29.

magno consessu: 'in that vast assembly'. The assembly at the Panathenaica is probably meant; cf. Sest. 120 *consessu maximo.*

10 *qui:* at this point the *oratio obliqua* is broken through and resume in the next sentence, *dixisse* being again dependent on *proditum est.*

legati cum essent: '*being* ambassadors'.

11 *illi:* 'in his honour'.

12 *sessum recepisse:* Val. Max. uses the same phrase; cf. Fam. 10, 32, *sessum deducere;* N. D. 3, 74 *sessum ire.*

§ 64.

plausus multiplex: cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 747 *plausum ingeminare.* Cic. generally says *plausus maximus.*

14 *facere nolle:* cf. the well-known saying of Demosthenes, Olynth. 3 § πέπεισμαι γὰρ τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθα τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν, ἢ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι.

15 *praeclara: sc. sunt;* see n. on 11, l. 15.

16 *antecedit: sc. alios.*

sententiae principatum: 'precedence in debate'. Meissner quotes Verr. 4, 142 *ut quisque aetate et honore antecedit, ita primus solet su sponte dicere itaque a ceteris ei conceditur.*

17 *honore: i.e.* as regards office, past or present.

qui...sunt: actual praetors or consuls.

19 *comparandae:* n. on 50, l. 13.

21 *fabulam aetatis:* cf. §§ 5, 70, 85. The comparison of life to a play, and mankind to the players, is common in all literature; *e.g.* 'all the world's a stage, *etc.*'. When Augustus was on his deathbed he asked his friends *ecquid eis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse* (Suet. Aug. 99); cf. Gay's epitaph 'Life's a jest, *etc.*' For *aetas* see n. on 4, l. 8.

peregisse: so in 70, l. 9; 85, p. 60, l. 3.

22 *actu:* so 5, l. 8; 70, l. 10.

corruisse: *i.e.* through fatigue; cf. *defetigationem* in 85, p. 60, l. 3.

§ 65.

23 *at sunt:* see 21, l. 23 n.

si quaerimus: 'if we ask that question'; a common colloquial phrase in Cicero; *e.g.* Off. 3, 80 *ea res, si quaeris, magno ei honori fuit;* Fam. 12, 8, 1 *si verum quaeris.*

24 *morum:* cf. 7, p. 32, l. 2 *in moribus est culpa non in aetate.*

25 *ea vitia:* *i.e.* *ea alia vitia.*

habent etc.: ἔχοντές τι συγγνώμης (Thucyd. 3, 44).

26 *non...videatur:* 'not well-grounded indeed, but such as it may seem possible to allow'. For *illius quidem* see Kennedy § 65; Roby §§ 2259, 2261; and cf. *id quidem* above, 30, p. 40, l. 2; also n. on *eaque* in 33, p. 41, l. 2.

27 *contemni...despici:* see n. on 43, l. 32 *spreta et contempta.*

28 *odiosa:* n. on 4, l. 22.

quae: *sc.* *vitia.*

29 *dulciora:* cf. 45, l. 18 *fiunt mitiora.*

et moribus bonis et artibus: for the order of the words cf. n. on 1, l. 9 *animi tui.*

30 *in vita:* 'in everyday life'.

31 *Adelphis:* the play of Terence which we still possess.

diritas: old editions have *duritas*, which would mean 'cruelty', whereas the sense required is 'harshness of temper'. But Suet. Tib. 21 has *diritas morum*, and Varro *scena quem senem Latina vidit dirissimum.* Both *dirus* and *diritas* are rare in Cicero; the former word does not once occur in the whole range of the speeches, the latter scarcely excepting here and in Vat. 9; in Tusc. 3, 29 Cic. uses it in translating from Euripides.

§ 66. P. 53.

5 *quarta:* cf. 15, p. 34, l. 31 *quartam* (*causam*) *quod haud procul absit* (*sc.* *senectus*) *a morte.*

6 *sollicitam habere:* 'to keep in trouble'. *Sollicitus* is, literally, 'wholly in motion', from *sollus* (which has the same root with ὅλος) and *citus;* cf. the rare words *sollifides, solliferreus.* For the construction see Roby § 1402.

nostram aetatem: 'men of our age'; cf. n. on 26, l. 16 *senectus.*

7 *esse longe:* more usually *abesse* (in 15, l. 32 *absit*); cf. however Qu.

Fr. 3, 8, 2 *isti Nervii quam longe sint nescio* (where some edd. read *absint*).

8 *miserum:* Cicero oftener joins *O* with the accusative than with the nominative; as he scarcely, if at all, uses the interjection in direct addresses to persons, the vocative does not occur. 'O, wretched is that old man'.

contemnendam: see n. on 43, l. 32.

9 *aut neglegenda aut optanda:* cf. n. on 74, l. 22.

11 *deducit:* cf. n. on 63, p. 52, l. 1.

atqui: n. on 6, l. 14.

tertium...potest: 'nothing can be found as a third alternative': so in Tusc. 1, 82 *quoniam nihil tertium est* (where Kühner misunderstands the phrase).

§ 67.

12 *quid timeam etc.:* so Tusc. 1, 25 *quo modo igitur aut cur mortem malum tibi videri dicis? quae aut beatos nos efficiet, animis manentibus, aut non miseros, sensu carentis;* ib. 1, 118 *ut aut in aeternam domum remigremus aut omni sensu careamus.*

13 *futurus sum:* see n. on 6, l. 19.

14 *quamvis sit:* prose writers of the Republican period use *quamvis* with the subjunctive only; see Roby, §§ 1624, 1627.

cui: here=*ut ei*, as often; *e.g.* Div. 2, 119 *nihil tam absurde dici potest quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum.*

15 *ad vesperum esse victurum:* 'that he will be alive when evening comes', *not* 'that he will live till the evening'. With the prepositions *ad sub in* the form *vesper* is generally used, not *vespera.* With this passage cf. Fin. 2, 92 *an id exploratum cuiquam potest esse quo modo sese habiturum sit corpus, non dico ad annum, sed ad vesperum?* Also cf. the title of one of Varro's Menippean Satires: *nescis quid vesper serus vehat* (probably a proverb).

aetas illa...adulescentes: cf. n. on 14, l. 19. Some scholars have supposed that this sentence is borrowed from Hippocrates; see Introd. p. 13 n.

17 *tristius:* '*severioribus remediis*'. Manutius. So Off. 1, 83 *leviter aegrotantis leniter curant, gravioribus autem morbis periculosas curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur.* The adverb *tristius,* which has in prose a superlative but no positive, occurs in Fam. 4, 13, 5.

18 *quod...ita:* n. on 35, l. 23.

19 *viveretur:* so in 72, p. 54, l. 32.

mens...ratio...consilium: cf. n. on 41, l. 27; also on 17, l. 26.

20 *est:* see n. on 7, p. 32, l. 5.

qui...nulli: cf. n. on 46, l. 28 *qui pauci;* but *nulli* here almost= *non;* see n. on 74, l. 22.

nullae...fuissent: *i.e.* the young men would have brought every country to ruin; see § 20.

21 *sed redeo ad:* cf. 32, l. 11 n.

22 *quod...crimen:* 'what must we think of the charge?'

cum...cum: n. on 4, l. 18.

§ 68.

23 *in filio...in fratribus:* cf. Lael. 9 *quo modo mortem fili tulit! Memineram Paulum, videram Gallum; sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro.* As to Cato's son cf. §§ 15, 84.

tu: *sc. sensisti;* cf. Lael. 30 *ego admiratione* (*sc. dilexi*) *ille vicissim opinione...me dilexit.*

24 *exspectatis ad:* a rare construction, perhaps without parallel; *exspectatis* is an adjective and takes the construction of *aptus*, *idoneus etc.*, 'of whom hopes were entertained as regards honour'.

fratribus: the sons of Paulus Macedonicus; two of them died within seven days (Fam. 4, 6, 1), one just before and one just after Paulus' great triumph in 167 B.C.

25 *at:* n. on 21, l. 23.

26 *quod...idem:* so 4, l. 28 *quam...eandem*, where see n.

insipienter: here we have adversative asyndeton; see n. on 3, l. 7.

27 *stultius:* *est* omitted; see 12, l. 26 n.

incerta...veris: chiasmus avoided; see n. on 26, l. 15.

28 *at...at:* the objection and its answer are both introduced by *at*, as here, in 35, ll. 18, 20.

quod: the antecedent is omitted.

29 *at...adulescens:* these words look back to the preceding sentence, to which they are an answer.

30 *ille...hic:* here *hic* denotes the person who is more important, *ille* the person who is less important for the matter in hand; the former may therefore be regarded as nearer to the speaker, the latter as more remote; cf. n. on 50, l. 7.

§ 69.

31 *quamquam:* see n. on 2, l. 17.

quid est...diu: cf. Tusc. 1, 94 *quae vero aetas longa est, aut quid omnino homini longum?...quia ultra nihil habemus, hoc longum dicimus.* For *est* see n. on 72, p. 55, l. 2.

33 *Tartessiorum...Gadibus:* the whole of the south coast of Spain bore the name *Tartessus*, but the name is often confined to Gades, the chief city.

fuit: = *vixit*; cf. n. on 21, l. 27.

scriptum video: so in Acad. 2, 129; Div. 1, 31; cf. also N. D. 1, 72 *ut videmus in scriptis*; Off. 2, 25 *ut scriptum legimus*; also cf. n. on 26, l. 21.

P. 54.

1 *Arganthonius*: the story is from Herodotus 1, 163 ἐτυράννευσε δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.

3 *aliquid extremum*: n. on 5, l. 9. So pro Marcello 27 *tum te satis diu vixisse dicito. Quid est enim omnino hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid extremum? quod cum venit, omnis voluptas praeterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla futura est.*

4 *effluxit*: strongly aoristic in sense, 'at once is gone'. For the word cf. 4, p. 31, l. 2 *effluxisset*.

tantum: 'just so much'; cf. 36, l. 30 *tantum cibi*, with n.

5 *virtute et recte factis*: the same opinion is enforced in Tusc. 1, 109.

7 *quid sequatur*: 'the future'; cf. Lucr. 1, 459 *transactum quid sit in aevo, Tum quae res instet, quid porro deinde sequatur.*

8 *quod...contentus*: this passage with the whole context bears considerable resemblance to Lucretius 3, 931—977; cf. especially 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis*; 960 *satur ac plenus discedere rerum.*

§ 70.

9 *ut placeat*: 'in order to secure approval'.

peragenda: cf. n. on 50, l. 13 *comparandae*.

10 *modo*: cf. 22, l. 4 *modo permaneat*.

11 *plaudite*: the Latin plays nearly always ended with this word, addressed by the actor to the audience; cf. Hor. A. P. 153 *si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque Sessuri donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat.*

breve tempus etc.: one of our own poets has said that 'in small measures lives may perfect be'. Cf. also Tusc. 1, 109 *nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere*; Seneca ep. 77 *quo modo fabula, sic vita: non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit refert.*

12 *tempus aetatis*: n. on 2, p. 30, l. 5.

bene honesteque: cf. 4, l. 24 *bene beateque vivendum.*

13 *processerit*: probably the subject is *sapiens*, in which case *aetate* must also be supplied from *aetatis*; the subject may however be *aetas*. Cf. 21, l. 26 n.

non magis etc.: 'we must no more sorrow than the rustics sorrow', *i.e.* we must not sorrow at all.

15 *ver...futuros*: 'for spring, like youth, gives warning and promise of fruits to come'. For the reading *adulescentia* see Appendix A. The word *ostendere* often has in Cic. the sense of 'to promise'; *e.g.* Fam. 9, 8, 1 *etsi munus* (gladiatorial show) *flagitare quamvis quis ostenderit, ne*

populus quidem solet nisi concitatus. With the whole passage cf. pro Cael. 76 *studia in adulescentia tamquam in herbis significant quae virtutis maturitas et quantae fruges industriae sint futurae.*

17 *percipiendis:* n. on 24, l. 25.

§ 71.

18 *ut dixi:* §§ 9, 60, 62.

20 *secundum naturam:* *κατὰ φύσιν*, a Stoic phrase; cf. n. on 5, l. 6 *naturam optimam ducem.*

sunt...bonis: 'are to be ranked in the class of things good'.

21 *quod idem:* see n. on 4, l. 28.

22 *contingit:* see n. on 8, l. 9.

26 *exstinguitur:* cf. 38, p. 43, l. 4. There is the same contrast between *opprimere* and *exstinguere* in Lael. 78 *ut exstinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse videantur*, where see my n.

quasi...evelluntur: it is rare to find in Cic. or the other prose writers of the best period a verb in the indicative mood immediately dependent on *quasi* (in the sense of *sicut* or *quem ad modum*). When two things are compared by *quasi...ita*, the indicative verb is nearly always put in the second clause, and may be supplied in the clause with *quasi;* very rarely are there two different verbs for the two clauses. Cf. however Plautus Stich. 539 *fuit olim, quasi nunc ego sum senex;* Lucr. 3, 492 *agens animam spumat quasi...fervescunt undae.*

si...si: for the more usual *si...sin*, which we have in § 85.

28 *vis...maturitas:* chiasmus; see n. on 3, l. 6. For *maturitas* cf. 5, l. 11 n.

30 *videre videar:* *sc. mihi*, which is often inserted, as in Cat. 4, 11. Cf. also below, 77, l. 19 *cernere mihi videor.*

in portum: speaking of death, Cic. says in Tusc. 1, 118 *portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus: quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat! Sin reflantibus ventis reiciemur tamen eodem paulo tardius referamur necesse est;* cf. also ib. 1, 107.

§ 72.

31 *senectutis:* see n. on 4, l. 32.

32 *certus:* cf. 33, p. 41, l. 1 n.

vivitur: so in 67, l. 19.

munus offici: see n. on 29, l. 19.

33 *tueri:* 'uphold'.

possit: for the omission of the subject to the verb cf. n. on 25, p. 38, l. 5.

ex quo fit etc.: the argument seems to be that youth knows how long it has to last and is therefore less spirited than age, which knows not when it will end.

P. 55.

1 *animosior...fortior:* Horace, Odes 2, 10, 21 *rebus angustis animosus atque fortis appare;* the two words are joined also in Cic. Mil. 92.

2 *hoc illud est etc.:* 'this is the meaning of the answer made by Solon etc.'. Cf. Div. 1, 122 *hoc nimirum illud est quod de Socrate accepimus,* also the Greek phrase ἢ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο. *Est=valet* as in 69, p. 53, l. 31.

Pisistratus: the despot of Athens, who seized on power in 560 B.C. Plutarch, who tells the story, 'an seni sit gerenda respublica' c. 21, makes Solon speak to the friends of Pisistratus, not to P. himself.

3 *quaerenti...obsisteret:* cf. n. on 13, p. 34, l. 12, also 25, p. 37, l. 31 where we have *quaerenti...serat.*

audaciter: Quintil. 1, 6, 17 condemns those who used *audaciter* for *audacter*, which latter form, he says, had been used by 'all orators'. Yet the form *audaciter* is pretty well attested by our MSS here and elsewhere in Cicero. [See Neue, Formenlehre, 1^2 662.] For the two forms cf. *difficiliter, difficulter. Audaciter* is of importance as shewing that *c* before *i* must have been pronounced just like *c* in any other position, not as in modern Italian.

5 *certis sensibus:* Acad. 2, 19 *integris incorruptisque sensibus.*

6 *ipsa...quae:* see n. on 26, l. 23.

coagmentavit: Cic. is fond of such metaphors; see n. on *conglutinavit* below; also cf. Orat. 77 *verba verbis quasi coagmentari;* Phil. 7, 21 *docebo ne coagmentari quidem pacem posse* ('that no patched-up peace can be made').

8 *conglutinavit:* a still more favourite metaphor than *coagmentare,* Cic. has *conglutinare rem* (Or. 1, 188); *amicitias* (Lael. 32 and Att. 7, 8, 1); *voluntates* (Fam. 11, 27, 2); *concordiam* (Att. 1, 17, 10); in Phil. 3, 28 Cic. says of Antony that he is *totus ex vitiis conglutinatus.*

9 *iam:* 'further'; so below, l. 20.

conglutinatio: the noun probably occurs only here and Orat. 78 *c. verborum.*

10 *relicum:* this neuter adjective is often used as a substantive and has an adjective in agreement with it as here. Cf. Plaut. Merc. 3, 2, 4 *breve vitae relicum;* Verr. 2, 43 *ex omni reliquo;* also n. on 3, l. 6. For the spelling *relicum* see n. on 14, l. 17.

11 *sine causa:* 'without *sufficient* reason'. See Tusc. 1, 74 quoted in next note.

§ 73.

vetat Pythagoras etc.: the passage is from Plato, Phaedo 61 A—62 C. Plato makes Socrates there profess to quote Philolaus, the Pythagorean; Cic. therefore refers the doctrine to Pythagoras. Cf. Tusc. 1, 74 (the whole context of which is imitated from the Phaedo) *Cato* (*i.e. Uticensis*) *sic abiit e vita ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet; vetat enim*

dominans ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare; so also Rep. 6, 15. The Stoics held the same view about suicide, which they authorised in extreme cases, but much less freely than is commonly supposed; cf. Sen. ep. 117, 22 *nihil mihi videtur turpius quam optare mortem.*

12 *imperatoris...praesidio:* here Cic. seems to understand Plato's φρουρᾷ as referring to warfare; in Tusc. and Rep. l.l. he understands it of a prison.

14 *elogium:* see n. on 61, l. 14. The distich is preserved by Plutarch, and runs thus: μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς. Cic. thus translates it in Tusc. 1, 117 *mors mea ne careat lacrimis, linquamus amicis Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.* The epitaph of Ennius is also quoted there and declared to be better than that of Solon (cf. Tusc. 1, 34).

quo se negat: cf. Tusc. 1, 52 quoted in n. on 32, l. 21.

15 *volt se esse carum:* 'he wishes to make out that he is beloved'; *volt esse carus* would have had quite a different sense. Cf. Fin. 5, 13 *Strato physicum se volt*, with Madvig's n.; also n. on 43, l. 22 above.

16 *haud scio an:* n. on 56, l. 25.

Ennius: sc. dixerit; cf. n. on 3, l. 15.

17 *lacrumis:* for reading see Appendix A.

decoret: cf. κοσμεῖν τάφον in Soph. Ant. 396.

fletu: strictly, *cum fletu* should have been written, like *cum gemitu* in Tusc. 1, 117 quoted on l. 14, but the construction is accommodated to *lacrumis decoret.*

18 *faxit:* the subject is *quisquam* understood from *nemo.* For the form see n. on 1, l. 1 *levasso.* The end of the epitaph is omitted here as in Tusc. 1, 117, but is given in Tusc. 1, 34 *cur? volito vivos per ora virum.* Notice the strong alliteration.

19 *non censet:* the *non* goes very closely with *censet* and almost forms one word with it.

§ 74.

20 *iam:* as above in l. 9.

moriendi: 'the process of death'. Cf. Lael. 12 *sensum moriendi celeritas abstulit.* In Att. 9, 13 *si quis est sensus in morte* the meaning is quite different.

isque: for the adversative force of *que* see n. on 13, p. 34, l. 9.

22 *aut optandus aut nullus:* for the statement see the passages quoted in n. on 67, l. 12; for the form 66, l. 9 *aut neglegenda aut optanda. Nullus* almost=*non* as in 67, l. 20; Rosc. Am. 128 *haec bona in tabulas publicas nulla redierunt.* But only in the Letters does Cic. (imitating Plautus and the other dramatists) attach *nullus* in this sense to the name of a particular person; *e.g.* Att. 11, 24, 4 *Philotimus nullus venit.*

sed...esse: 'but we must con this lesson from our youth up'. For the passive sense of *meditatum* cf. n. on 4, l. 28. In Tusc. 1, 74 Cic.

(copying Plato) says *tota philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est.* So Seneca, *tota vita discendum est mori.*

23 *mortem ut:* in Cic. *ut* is very frequently placed the second word in the clause, in order to throw emphasis on some important word.

sine qua...nemo potest: these words bring the position of Cicero with regard to death wonderfully near that of Lucretius: the latter argues that for peace of mind one must believe '*nullum esse sensum post mortem*'; the former's lesson is '*aut nullum esse sensum aut optandum*'.

25 *incertum an:* cf. n. on 56, l. 25.

26 *timens:=si quis timet;* the subject to *poterit* is the indefinite *quis* involved in *timens;* cf. n. on 25, p. 38, l. 5 *non volt.*

qui:=quo modo, as in 4, l. 31.

animo consistere: so in pro Quint. 77; also *mente consistere* in Phil. 2, 68; Div. 2, 149; Q. Fr. 2, 3, 2 *neque mente neque lingua neque ore consistere.* The word is, literally, 'to stand firm', 'to get a firm foothold'; cf. above, 41, l. 23.

§ 75.

27 *non ita:* 'not very'; used only before adjectives; before verbs the phrase in use is *non ita valde.*

esse videtur: some of the editors say here that Cicero generally writes *videtur esse;* this is a mistake; see n. on *esse potest* in 50, l. 17.

28 *L. Brutum:* fell in single combat with Aruns, son of the exiled Tarquin; see Liv. 2, 6. The accusatives *Brutum etc.* are not the objects of *recordor,* as some editors say, but the subjects of infinitives to be supplied from *profectas;* the sense is 'as I remember not that L. Brutus, not that...but that our legionary soldiers marched *etc.*'

29 *duos Decios:* see nn. on 43, ll. 27, 29, 31.

ad: 'in search of'.

30 *cursum equorum:* in view of *incitaverunt,* the word *equos* would have been sufficient; but this kind of pleonasm is common in Latin; see my n. on Lael. 30 *causae diligendi sunt profectae.*

Atilius: *i.e.* Regulus, whose story is too well known to need recounting. There are many contradictions and improbabilities about it.

32 *Scipiones:* see n. on 29, l. 21. In Paradoxa 1, 12 Cic. says of them *Carthaginiensium adventum corporibus suis intercludendum putaverunt.*

P. 56.

1 *avom tuum:* for the orthography see n. on 14, l. 17.

Paulum: n. on 29, l. 21.

collegae: M. Terentius Varro. There is no reason to suppose that he was a worse general that many other Romans who met Hannibal and were beaten; the early historians, being all aristocrats, fixed the disgrace of Cannae on the democratic consul. Varro's contemporaries

were more just to him. Far from reproaching him, the Senate commended his spirit, and several times afterwards entrusted him with important business.

2 *Cannensi:* for the position of the adjective before its substantive see n. on 13, p. 34, l. 10; for the position of the words *in Cannensi ignominia* between *collegae* and *temeritatem* see n. on 3, l. 16.

Marcellum: the captor of Syracuse in 212 B.C. He fell into an ambush in 208 and was killed; Hannibal buried him with military honours.

3 *cuius interitum:* abstract for concrete = *quem, post interitum.*

crudelissimus hostis: this, the traditional Roman view of Hannibal, is the reverse of the truth, so far as extant testimony goes.

4 *sed...arbitrarentur:* these words are almost exactly repeated in Tusc. 1, 89 and 101.

7 *indocti:* cf. 13, p. 34, l. 14 *responsum docto homine dignum.*

8 *rustici:* cf. Arch. 24 *nostri illi fortes viri sed rustici ac milites;* also above, 24, l. 23.

§ 76.

9 *omnino:* here strongly affirmative as in 9, l. 18; for the concessive *omnino* see n. on 28, l. 11.

10 *pueritiae...senectute:* cf. n. on 4, l. 32.

num igitur etc.: so in 33, p. 40, l. 33 *nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi debent requirere.*

12 *constans:* n. on 33, p. 41, l. 4.

requirit: n. on 30, p. 40, l. 1.

13 *ne...quidem:* see n. on 27, l. 28.

16 *satietas vitae:* cf. 85, p. 60, l. 4, and *satietas vivendi* in pro Marc. 27; also Tusc. 1, 109 *vita acta perficiat ut satis superque vixisse videamur.*

§ 77.

19 *cernere:* of the mind also in 82, l. 18. With the context cf. Div. 1, 63 *animus appropinquante morte multo est divinior; facilius evenit appropinquante morte ut animi futura augurentur.*

20 *vestros patres:* n. on 15, p. 35, l. 5.

21 *tuque:* so in Lael. 100 *C. Fanni et tu, Q. Muci;* but above, 4, l. 23 and 9, l. 18 simply *Scipio et Laeli.*

22 *quae est sola vita:* cf. n. on *vitam nullam* in 7, l. 28.

23 *nam dum sumus etc.:* the whole of this doctrine is Platonic; cf. Lael. 13.

24 *munere necessitatis et opere:* 'function and task allotted us by fate'. Cf. *munus et officium* above, 34, l. 11.

25 *ex altissimo domicilio depressus:* 'brought low from its home on high'.

27 *deos immortalis:* n. on 25, l. 31.

28 *sparsisse:* Horace calls the soul *divinae particulam aurae.*

ut essent...tuerentur: 'that there might be beings to rule or guard (or care for) the earth'. Most editors wrongly take *tuerentur* to be for *intuerentur*, 'to look upon', and regard it as an intentional archaism. But cf. Rep. 6, 15 (where no archaism can be intended): *homines sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum quae terra vocatur;* also *tuentur* below in 82, l. 11.

29 *caelestium:* see n. on 3, l. 6 *ceteris.*

contemplantes imitarentur: perhaps more Stoic than Platonic; the Stoics laid great stress on the ethical value of a contemplation and imitation of the order of the universe. Cf. N. D. 2, 37 *ipse homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum.*

30 *modo:* here *modus* seems to be the Platonic τὸ μέτριον, or perhaps a reminiscence of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean (n. on 46, l. 32). Translate 'in moderation and consistency of life'; and cf. Off. 1, 93 *rerum modus* 'moderation in all things'. For *constantia* see n. on 4, l. 29.

31 *ita:* n. on 16, l. 19.

§ 78.

33 *audiebam:* for the imperfect cf. n. on 50, l. 28 *videbamus.*

P. 57.

1 *qui essent:* '*inasmuch as* they were'. Cicero very often tries to make out a connexion between Pythagoras and the early Romans; cf. Tusc. 4, 2.

2 *dubitasse quin:* see n. on 16, l. 10.

ex universa mente: Diog. L. 8, 28 gives as Pythagorean the doctrine ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀθάνατον. Similar doctrines occur in Plato and the Stoics; cf. Div. 1, 110 *a qua* (*i.e. a natura deorum*) *ut doctissimis sapientissimisque placuit, haustos animos et libatos habemus;* Tusc. 5, 38 *humanus animus decerptus ex mente divina.*

4 *Socrates:* in Plato's Phaedo.

immortalitate animorum: this is usual, not *immortalitas animi*, for 'the immortality of the soul'; so Lael. 14; Tusc. 1, 80 (*aeternitas animorum*).

5 *is qui esset etc.:* 'a man great enough to have been declared wisest'. As to the oracle, see my n. on Lael. 7.

6 *quid multa:* see n. on 3, l. 15.

sic: cf. n. on 16, l. 19.

7 *celeritas animorum:* the ancients pictured to themselves the mind as a substance capable of exceedingly rapid movement; cf. Tusc. 1, 43

nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere; also below l. 10.

praeteritorum: n. on 3, l. 6 *ceteris*.

8 *tantae scientiae:* as the plural of *scientia* is almost unknown in classical Latin, recent editors take *scientiae* here as genitive, 'so many arts requiring so much knowledge'. In favour of this interpretation are such passages as Acad. 2, 146 *artem sine scientia esse non posse;* Fin. 5, 26 *ut omnes artes in aliqua scientia versentur.* Yet in De Or. 1, 61 *physica ista et mathematica et quae paulo ante ceterarum artium propria posuisti, scientiae sunt eorum qui illa profitentur*, it is very awkward to take *scientiae* as genitive.

10 *cumque semper etc.:* this argument is copied very closely from Plato's Phaedrus; see Appendix B.

principium motus: ἀρχὴ κινήσεως in Plato.

11 *se ipse:* cf. n. on 4, l. 26.

13 *cum simplex etc.:* from Plato's Phaedo; see Appendix B. The general drift of the argument is this: material things decay because they are compounded of parts that fall asunder; there is nothing to shew that the soul is so compounded; therefore no reason to believe that it will so decay. Notice the imperfects *esset...haberet...posset* accommodated to the tense of *persuasi* above, although the other subjunctives in the sentence are not; also cf. n. on 42, l. 4.

neque...dissimile: in modern language the whole of this clause would be briefly expressed thus 'and was homogeneous'.

15 *quod si non posset:* I doubt whether Allen is right in making *quod* the subject of *posset*, and supplying *fieri*, though Cic. does occasionally use *posse* for *posse fieri* (see my n. on Acad. 1, 29). Probably *quod si* = 'whereas if', the subject to *posset* being *animus*, and *dividi* being understood. Cf. n. on *quod contra* in 84, l. 20.

magno argumento: ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον in Pl. Phaed. 72 A. For the predicative dative see Roby, Vol. II. Introd.

16 *homines scire etc.:* for this Platonic doctrine see Appendix B. It is embodied in the passage of Wordsworth's famous Ode beginning 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting'.

19 *reminisci et recordari:* a double translation of Plato's ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι, quite in Cicero's fashion.

haec Platonis fere: 'so far Plato'; cf. 82, l. 13 *Cyrus quidem haec moriens.*

§ 79.

20 *apud Xenophontem:* see Appendix B. *Est* is omitted, as *dixit* in the previous line. For *apud* cf. 30, l. 27; when Cic. says that a passage is '*in*' a certain *author* (not naming the book) he nearly, if not quite, always uses *apud* not *in*.

maior: 'the elder'; cf. 59, l. 19 *Cyrum minorem.*

22 *nullum:* n. on 74, l. 22; see also below, l. 25.

dum eram: the imperfect with *dum* is not very common; see Roby 1458, 1461, 1784 *c*.

23 *videbatis:* n. on 49, l. 28.

25 *creditote:* n. on 3, l. 14.

§ 80.

26 *clarorum...permanerent:* for the order of the words see n. on 3, l. 16.

28 *mihi...potuit:* cf. 82, l. 14 *nemo...persuadebit.*

29 *vivere...emori:* adversative asyndeton; see n. on 3, l. 7.

excessissent: so 82, l. 26 *e. e vita;* Lael. 13 *ex corpore.*

30 *insipientem:* in Xen. ἄφρων, *i. e.* without power of thinking.

31 *sed:* 'but rather that...'

33 *hominis natura:* simply a periphrasis for *homo;* cf. Fin. 5, 33 *intellegant, si quando naturam hominis dicam, hominem dicere me; nihil enim hoc differt.*

P. 58.

1 *ceterarum:* see n. on 3, l. 6.

4 *nihil...somnum:* 'that nothing so well represents death to us as sleep'. Allen's em. *esse tam simile quam morti somnum* is ingenious but unnecessary. For the dative see n. on 31, l. 9. Poets (and artists) from Homer onwards have always pictured death as sleep's brother.

§ 81.

5 *atqui:* n. on 6, l. 14.

dormientium animi etc.: see Div. 1, 60 where a passage of similar import is translated from Plato's Republic IX; ib. 115.

6 *remissi et liberi:* cf. Div. 1, 113 *animus solutus ac vacuus;* De Or. 2, 193 *animo leni ac remisso;* for *remissus* see on 28, l. 14.

8 *corporis:* the singular, though *animi* precedes; so in Lael. 13; Tusc. 2, 12, *etc.*

sic...ut: n. on 12, l. 30.

9 *colitote:* n. on 3, l. 14.

est interiturus: n. on 6, l. 19.

10 *pulchritudinem:* κόσμον; Cic. translates it by *ornatus* in Acad. 2, 119 where *hic ornatus* corresponds to *hic mundus* a little earlier.

11 *tuentur:* n. on 77, l. 29 *tuerentur.*

§ 82.

13 *Cyrus etc.:* n. on 78, l. 19.

si placet: n. on 6, l. 20 *nisi molestum est.*

14 *nostra*: = *Romana* = *domestica* in 12, l. 29.

nemo etc.: this line of argument is often repeated in Cic.; see Tusc. 1, 32 sq.; Arch. 29.

15 *duos avos...patruom*: nn. on § 29.

16 *multos*: *sc. alios.*

17 *esse conatos*: loosely put for *fuisse conaturos*, as below, l. 21 *susceptūrum fuisse.* So in the direct narration we might have, though exceptionally, *non conabantur nisi cernerent* for *non conati essent nisi vidissent.*

18 *posteritatis*: a different genitive from those above, in 81, l. 11 *memoriam nostri*; 80, l. 27 *memoriam sui.*

cernerent: for the tense see n. on 13, p. 34, l. 12 *quaereretur*; for the whole clause Arch. 29, quoted below, on l. 21.

19 *anne*: see n. on 15, p. 35, l. 1. *Anne* is generally found in an indirect question (*utrum...anne*). Occasionally we have also *numne*, *utrumne.*

ut...glorier: see n. on 52, p. 48, l. 1. In Arch. 30 Cic. makes the same reflections in almost the same words about his own achievements.

20 *aliquid*: n. on 1, l. 1 *quid.*

more senum: see 30, p. 40, l. 2.

diurnos nocturnosque: n. on 1, l. 8 *noctes diesque.*

21 *si isdem etc.*: cf. Arch. 29 *certe, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum et si quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, isdem omnis cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur neque totiens de ipsa vita dimicaret.* The succeeding sentence should also be read; also T. D. 1, 32 sq.

23 *otiosam*: n. on 49, l. 28.

aetatem: = *vitam*, as in 5, l. 8, where see n.

24 *traducere*: cf. Tusc. 3, 25 *volumus hoc quod datum est vitae tranquille placideque traducere.*

25 *erigens se*: Acad. 2, 127 *erigimur, elatiores fieri videmur.*

ita...quasi: n. on 26, l. 22.

26 *cum excessisset e vita*: see n. on 4, p. 31, l. 2; Cic. also says *excedere vita* simply, as in Tusc. 1, 29.

tum denique victurus esset: n. on *vitam nullam*, 7, l. 28.

quod ni ita: n. on 35, l. 23.

27 *haud...niteretur*: in Cicero's speeches *haud* scarcely occurs except before adverbs and the verb *scio*; in the philosophical writings before many other verbs; also in the Letters. [Draeger 1[2] p. 134 says *haud* is *never* used with any verb but *scio* in Cicero's speeches; see however Mil. 68.]

28 *immortalitatis gloriam*: so Balb. 16 *sempiterni nominis gloriam.* Cf. also Arch. 26 *trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.*

§ 83.

29 *quid quod:* 'what of this, that...'; cf. *quid qui* in 26, l. 19; also n. on 22, l. 2.

31 *cernat...videre:* this change is very common; see my n. on Acad. 2, 80.

32 *non videre:* either *non videre* or *non item* was necessary, as Cicero does not generally end sentences or clauses with *non;* see my n. on Lael. 19, l. 28.

33 *colui et dilexi:* so 26, l. 13 *coluntur et diliguntur.*

P. 59.

1 *videndi:* Cic. for the most part avoids the genitive plural of the gerundive in agreement with a noun, and uses the gerund as here. Meissner notes that Latin has no verb with the sense 'to see again', which a modern would use here.

3 *quo:=ad quos;* see n. on 12, l. 31.

4 *Pelian:* a mistake of Cicero's. It was not Pelias but his half-brother Aeson, father of Iason, whom Medea made young again by cutting him to pieces and boiling him in her enchanted cauldron. She induced, however, the daughters of Pelias to try the same experiment with their father; the result of course, was very different. Plautus, Pseud. 3, 2, 80 seems to make the same mistake.

si quis deus: see n. on 40, l. 19. The present subjunctive is noticeable; strictly, an impossible condition should require the past tense, but in vivid passages an impossible condition is momentarily treated as possible. So Cic. generally says *si reviviscat aliquis*, not *revivisceret.*

6 *decurso spatio:* 'when I have run my race'. See n. on 14, l. 17; also on 33, p. 41, l. 1. Lucretius 3, 1042 oddly has *decurso lumine vitae.*

7 *ad carceres a calce: carceres* were the barriers behind which the horses and cars stood waiting for the race; *calx* (γραμμή), literally 'a chalked line', was what we should call 'the winning-post'. Cf. Lael. 101 *optandum est ut cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sit, cum isdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire;* Tusc. 1, 15 *nunc video calcem ad quam cum sit decursum, nihil sit praeterea extimescendum.*

§ 84.

8 *habeat sane:* see n. on 4, l. 23.

9 *satietatem...modum:* see n. on l. 13.

10 *multi et ei docti:* as Nägelsbach, Stilistik § 25, 5, remarks, Cic. always uses this phrase and not *multi docti.* One of the books Cic. has in view is no doubt that of Hegesias, a Cyrenaic philosopher, mentioned in Tusc. 1, 84.

13 *commorandi divorsorium:* 'a hostelry wherein to sojourn'. The idea has been expressed in a thousand ways in literature. Cf. Lucr. 3, 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis;* Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 118 *vita cedat uti conviva satur.* Cicero often insists that heaven is the *vera aeternaque domus* of the soul (cf. Tusc. quoted on 67, l. 12). Cf. Epist. to the Hebrews 13, 14 'here we have no continuing city but we seek one to come'.

15 *concilium coetumque:* so in Rep. 6, 13 *concilia coetusque hominum quae civitates vocantur.* The words here seem to imply that the real *civitas* is above; what seems to men a *civitas* is a mere disorganised crowd.

18 *Catonem meum:* see §§ 15, 68; so Cicero in his letters often calls his own son *meus Cicero.*

nemo vir: see n. on 21, l. 30.

20 *quod contra:* ὃ τοὐναντίον, 'whereas on the contrary'; cf. my n. on Lael. 90, l. 19 where many of the editors, as well as here, make the mistake of taking *quod* to be the accusative governed by *contra* out of place.

21 *quo:* put for *ad quae,* as often.

23 *visus sum:* 'people *thought* I bore up bravely'; cf. n. on 1, l. 14.

non quo...sed: a relative clause parallel with a categorically affirmative clause. The usage is not uncommon, though Cic. often has *non quo... sed quia.*

§ 85.

27 *dixisti:* in § 4.

28 *qui:* here=*cum ego,* 'since I...'.

30 *extorqueri volo:* n. on 2, l. 17.

31 *minuti philosophi:* for the word *minutus* cf. n. on 46, p. 46, l. 4; Cic. has *minuti philosophi* in Acad. 2, 75; Div. 1, 62; in Fin. 1, 61 *minuti et angusti* (*homines*); in Brut. 265 *m. imperatores;* cf. Suet. Aug. 83 *m. pueri.*

sentiam: future indicative, not present subjunctive.

33 *sumus futuri:* n. on 6, l. 19.

P. 60.

3 *peractio:* the noun is said to occur only here in Cic.; cf. however *peragere* 64, l. 21; 70, l. 9.

defetigationem; for the form cf. n. on 36, p. 42, l. 2; for the sense cf. 64, l. 21.

4 *satietate:* see 76, l. 16.

5 *haec...dicerem:* the same words occur at the end of the Laelius; for *habeo quod dicam* Cic. often says *habeo dicere,* as in Balb. 34.

APPENDIX A. ON THE TEXT.

[Remarks relating to readings, punctuation or orthography will be found in the explanatory notes on the following passages:

1, l. 1 *adiuero;* 1, l. 3 *praemi;* 1, l. 4 *isdem, eisdem, iisdem;* 1, l. 6 *plenus;* 1, l. 10 *deportasse;* 2, l. 17 *levari;* 2, l. 18 *certo scio;* 2, l. 19 *vellem aliquid;* 2, p. 30, l. 5 *satis digne;* 4, l. 28 *adeptam;* 5, l. 8 *descriptae;* 5, l. 10 *baca;* 9, l. 14 *si ego;* 10, l. 26 *eum...recepit;* 14, l. 17 *ecus;* 16, l. 14 *et tamen;* 16, l. 19 *et tamen;* 21, l. 18 *percontantur;* 21, l. 30 *senem;* 23, l. 19 *Diogenen;* 24, l. 27 *idem;* 26, p. 38, l. 10 *senecta;* 26, l. 26 *discebant... antiqui;* 27, l. 31 *quidquid agis;* 27, p. 39, l. 3 *illacrimans;* 33, l. 28 *ne;* 35, l. 10 *capite operto esse;* 36, p. 42, l. 1 *extinguntur;* 36, p. 42, l. 2 *defetigatione;* 38, l. 29 *magno opere;* 42, l. 9 *eicerem;* 44, l. 11 *cena;* 53, l. 21 *iugatio, religatio;* 56, l. 25 *haud scio an nulla;* 56, l. 32 *apium;* 63, l. 6 *Lacedaemonem;* 65, l. 31 *diritas;* 80, p. 58, l. 4 *nihil...somnum.*]

The most elaborate critical edition of the *Cato Maior* is that by Halm (in Vol. IV. of the revision of Orelli's edition of Cicero's works, continued after Orelli's death by Baiter and Halm), which is based on the readings of seven MSS, with occasional references to five or six others. The best of Halm's MSS is one preserved at Paris, of the xth century, and marked by him P. It contains readings inserted by a later hand; the original readings are denoted by P_1 and the later by P_2. This MS ends with the words *quin ex* in § 78, the remainder being lost. Since the appearance of Halm's edition Th. Mommsen has drawn attention (in the Monatsbericht of the Berlin Academy for Jan. 1863) to a Leyden MS of the xth century, which recent editors denote by L. Mommsen supposed that L had never before been collated, but Lahmeyer afterwards discovered and published a collation made by Weber forty years since, which by some accident had not seen the light before. Though our knowledge of L is still far from sufficient to enable us to determine with perfect exactness its value, yet it is certain that P and L are by far the best of the known MSS of the *Cato Maior*. L as well as P has readings from a second hand. There is a most striking agreement between L_1 and P_2 and again between L_2 and P_1.

My text has been formed after a careful weighing of all the evidence accessible to me. It has unfortunately been impossible for me to examine for myself the principal MSS. The only MSS readings which I have specially mentioned in the following notes are those of P and L. The readings of Halm are denoted by H, those of Baiter (in the Zürich edition of Cicero, 1863-4) by B, those of Lahmeyer (in his fourth edition, Leipzig, 1877) by Lm, those of Sommerbrodt (in his eighth edition, Berlin, 1877) by Sb. In a certain number of passages I have adopted conjectures of my own, which will be found pointed out below. In orthography my aim has been to get as near as possible to the orthography of Cicero's own time, though with certain concessions to established prejudices. The readings which I have selected for comment below are principally those which illustrate points of grammar, syntax or orthography.

§ 1.

1 *si quid ego:* so L with all other known MSS except P, which has *te*, a reading which seems to me to have arisen from the *t* of *quit* (for *quid*—a common variant) combined with the *e* of *ego*, and to have been aided by the occurrence of *te* in the next line; also by *Tite* preceding. Ennius frequently elides the *ŏ* in *ego;* for the rhythm cf. Ann. 210 (ed. Vahlen) *sed quid ego hic animo lamentor?* also 318 *sed quid ego haec memoro?* H B Lm Sb and Vahlen follow P.

3 *praemi:* MSS *premii* or *precii* for *pretii* which Ennius cannot have written; see my n.

§ 2.

18 *certo scio:* so B Lm with L; H Sb follow P in writing *certe scio.* See my n.

3 (p. 30) *omnis:* I write with *-is* not *-es* the accusative plural masc. or fem. of nouns, or adjectives, or participles whose stem ends in *-i.* Cicero must have done so in the great majority of instances, if not always.

§ 3.

9 *Cius:* the word is omitted in P, while L has *Chius.* F. Ritschl in the Rhein. Mus. for 1842, pp. 193 sq., shewed that Aristo the Chian. who was a Stoic (although not orthodox) cannot be meant. Aristo of Ceos was a Peripatetic. For the spelling *Cius* see note.

§ 4.

26 *a se ipsi:* so PL; H has *ipsis* with inferior MSS. Cf. n. on 4, l. 26.

eis: the spelling *iis* commonly found in our texts was almost certainly not used by Cicero.

29 *adeptam:* so P, but L has *adepti;* see my comment above.

30 *putassent:* so L; P has *putavissent;* the contracted form is however immensely the commoner in Cic. See my comment on 1, l. 10 *deportasse.*

1 (p. 31) *quam si:* so L P_2 B Sb Lm; H om. *si* with P. The repetition of the *si* is so Ciceronian that I follow L without hesitation.

2 *consolatione:* so some inferior MSS, but PL and others give *consolatio*, which is favoured by Mommsen but not adopted by recent editors except B. The context appears to me strongly to require that *aetas* should be the subject of *posset.* The *stulti* fret because life has so short duration. Cato replies that no duration of life would soften a foolish disposition.

§ 5.

8 *descriptae:* B Sb with L *discriptae*, which H favours in a footnote; see however my comment above.

12 *ferundum:* Sb *ferendum* against MSS, also *ingrediendum* below, 6, l. 22. The form *ferundum* seems to be supported by the texts of Nonius, who quotes the passage. I strongly suspect Sb is right; see my n. MSS are not to be trusted for such forms; below, 17, l. 20 L alone has *gerunda.*

§ 7.

24 *querellis:* this, not *querelis* (which some edd. still retain), is the better spelling.

§ 8.

10 *istuc:* B Sb *istud* with L only.

11 *sunt:* omitted by H with all MSS except L and one other. The verb would not be left out by Cic. in this position in the sentence. The omission was probably due to the use of an abbreviation.

14 *essem:* after this all MSS except L_1 have *ignobilis*, which was long since, before the readings of L came to light, seen to be an interpolation, as it ruins the sense.

Atheniensis: after this all MSS but L_1 and another have *esses.* The quick succession of *essem esses fuisses* is very unlike Cicero.

§ 10.

28 *gravitas:* in place of this L has *virtus gravis*, while one inferior MS has *gravis virtus:* hence Mommsen conjectures *virtus, nec gravis senectus.* But a stronger contrast is evidently needed than that afforded by *virtus* and *comitas.* Sb has *virtutis gravitas*, but the words *comitate condita virtutis gravitas* have a quite un-Ciceronian ring; and moreover the Latinity of the expression *virtutis gravitas* in this connexion requires proof.

8 (p. 33) ***noenum:*** so Lachmann for ***non enim*** of MSS; cf. my n.

9 *plusque:* MSS *postque*, a reading out of which it is impossible to get a satisfactory sense. *Plusque* is the em. of Bernays, adopted by Vahlen. Sb adopts *priusque* from Bergk.

§ 11.

11 *fugerat in arcem:* all MSS have *arce;* L alone has *fuerat;* the reading *fuerat in arce* is commended by Mommsen and adopted by Sb.

§ 12.

21 *admirabilius:* after this all MSS but L insert *est*.

30 *ita tum cupide fruebar:* so most edd. with P; L has *ita cupide fruebatur*. *Tum* would easily fall out after *ita* and the change from *fruebar* to *fruebatur* belongs to a class of errors exceedingly common. Yet Mommsen from L conj. *ita cupide fruebar tum*, and is followed by Sb.

§ 13.

8 *quarto nonagesimo:* L with one inferior MS (followed by B Lm Sb) has *quarto et nonagesimo*. In compound numbers of this kind when the smaller number follows, Cic. usually inserts *et;* when the smaller number precedes, he omits it, except when the smaller number is *unus* as above, l. 6.

9 *scripsisse dicit:* L P_2 H Lm Sb have *scripsisse se dicit;* P_1 and the rest have *scripsisse dicitur*. Cicero undoubtedly did often leave out the accusative of the pronoun before the infinitive after verbs of speaking, thinking *etc.*; both *se* and *dicitur* seem to me to be corrections of copyists ignorant of this usage.

§ 15.

3 (p. 35) MSS and edd. *animo tamen:* the *tamen* seems quite needless. I conjecture *animo et mente*, as in 36, l. 32 *mente atque animo*. If *tamen* be retained it would seem necessary to add an epithet such as *virili* to balance *infirmis*.

5 *tuus:* after this Sb inserts *Scipio* with Orelli and a few inferior MSS; but the mention of Paulus sufficiently shews that Scipio not Laelius is meant.

§ 16.

13 *dementis:* I have written this for *dementes* (with Vahlen) believing the word to be not in the nominative, but in the accusative case, in agreement with *sese*. The balance of MSS evidence is decidedly in favour of *dementis*.

viai: so edd. for the *via* of MSS. Lm with one of the secondary MSS reads *ruina*, which is objectionable on the score of construction, as

it gives a most awkward and improbable modal or instrumental ablative. Scaliger's *vietae* 'decayed' is feeble.

14 *et tamen:* some edd. give *etiam;* see my n.

16 *septemdecim:* Lm Sb B *septimo decimo* with one or two of the secondary MSS. See my n.

17 *duos:* some edd. *duo*, here and in 30, l. 32. I am convinced that Cic. did not use *duo* as the accusative plural masculine form; it was probably foreign to the ordinary prose of his time, and had become archaic and poetic.

19 *et tamen sic:* Sb most needlessly gives *fuisse eum sicut.*

§ 17.

20 *gerenda:* L only has *gerunda.*

21 *similesque sunt:* B brackets these words; cf. my n.

24 *faciat:* so all MSS here and also below. The edd. change to *facit* in both places. I have preferred to retain *faciat* in the first place, because it seems that the reply ought to begin with the emphatic particles *at vero.*

25 *velocitate:* so B Lm Sb with L. Others have *velocitatibus*, which, though not in itself impossible (since Cic. has so many abstract plurals), is probably wrong because the word should be parallel with *celeritate* rather than with *viribus.* Sb suspects *aut celeritate* of being a gloss.

§ 20.

17 *publicam:* this is wanting in L_1, and rightly, Mommsen thinks, but just about here a great many words are lacking in L_1. Thus Mommsen strangely favours its omission of *et* before *quo modo* in 18, l. 31.

18 *percontantur in:* L adds *ut* before *in*, whence Mommsen conj. *percontantibus*, removing the stop at *Ludo*, while H B give *ut est in*, Sb *illi in.* I agree with Lm in thinking that *ut* in L is due to *dittographia.*

Ludo: see my n. This is the reading of L_1 and most of the secondary MSS. P has *libro.*

§ 22.

5 *claris:* I have struck out *in* which MSS and edd. give before *claris.* The run of the sentence shews that *viris* ought to be in the same construction with *senibus.* *In* is easily inserted; thus some MSS of the second class have it also before *honoratis.*

§ 23.

15 *hunc, num Homerum:* L has *hunc Homerum;* the other MSS insert the words below, after *Gorgian.* The MSS also give *num* before *Hesiodum* and before *Xenocraten;* after striking these out on my own conjecture, I perceived that Seyffert had already proposed the same

alteration. Cicero's love for 'binary' arrangements of words is well known. With my reading, the two epic and the two lyric poets are classed together, then the two greatest rhetorical teachers, then the two greatest non-Socratic philosophers, then the two earliest presidents of the Academic and Stoic schools respectively.

16 *Isocraten etc.*: in all probability Cicero wrote the accusatives of Greek names in *-as*, *-es*, in *-an*, *-en*, not *-am*, *-em*. The MSS here, though somewhat at variance, yet on the whole strongly favour the forms I have given.

21 *omnibus:* edd. generally *omnibus his* with the secondary MSS; L P agree in omitting *his*.

§ 24.

26 *mirum est:* so edd. with L_1; the other MSS have *sit;* but Cicero did not construct *quamquam* with the subjunctive, except in *oratio obliqua*.

29 *prosint:* many edd. *prosient*. See my n.

§ 27.

28 *ne nunc quidem:* so most MSS; P and some of the second class have *nec*, which B H Lm Sb adopt, supposing Cato to mean 'nor do I yearn for a young man's strength, at least at present'. This would be an admission on Cato's part that he expects to feel the yearning if he lives much longer, an admission he is not in the least likely to make. The sense required is 'old as I am, I have no yearning after the strength of youth'. For this sense *ne* is necessary, since Cic. does not use *nec...quidem* for *ne...quidem*. [L_1 gives *nec...quidem* in 47, l. 9.]

31 *agis:* my em. for the reading of MSS and edd. *agas*. For the grounds of the alteration see my n.

§ 28.

13 *seni:* Madvig for *senis*. The idea is that expressed by Plin. Ep. 3, 1, 2 *nam iuvenes confusa adhuc quaedam et quasi turbata non indecent: senibus placida omnia et ordinata conveniunt.*

14 *persaepe:* so MSS except L (which has *per se ipsa*, adopted by some edd.); so also Nonius.

15 *composita:* the reading of one of the inferior MSS (the rest having *compta*) and rightly adopted by Lm B. The word *comptus*, though applied to *sermo*, *oratio etc.* by Quintilian, Tacitus and later writers, appears not to be so used by Cicero; indeed the word is exceedingly rare in his writings, occurring, for example, only once in the whole range of the speeches.

§ 29.

17 *an ne illas:* P L have *annales;* the reading in the text is the suggestion of Halm.

25 *senectute:* my em. for MSS and edd. *senectutis*. The whole context seems to demand the alteration. *Vitia iuventutis* are explained by *libidinosa et intemperans adulescentia;* we cannot therefore understand *vitia senectutis* in the sense which the phrase has above, 27, l. 29, and below, 35, l. 20 and l. 28; also 36, l. 5; 55, l. 7. But there is no sense in saying that lust in youth is oftener the cause of weakness than lust in advanced life. The alteration is supported by § 7 *in moribus est culpa non in aetate;* also by the words above, *orator metuo ne languescat senectute.*

§ 31.

5 *videbat:* so Lm Sb with L only.

§ 32.

13 *posse:* so P (the reading of L is not recorded). H B with inferior MSS read *possem*. Lahmeyer's objection (Philol. XXI, p. 290) to *vellem possem* is unfounded; see Att. 10, 8, 10 *velim possim;* ib. 8, 11 *d*, 5; De Or. 1, 265. Sb after Mähly has *posse me* (for which cf. 73, l. 15 *volt se esse*).

18 *non afflixit:* Sb *nec* with a few inferior MSS.

§ 33.

28 *ne ille:* Sb *ne ille quidem* with L and a few secondary MSS; *quidem* seems clearly an addition by a copyist who did not understand the affirmative *ne*.

30 *utrum:* P omits the word; L has *virum*, some inferior MSS *igitur utrum* or *utrum igitur;* some *vivum*, which H adopts; there is however no point in saying that Milo carried a living ox, since the ox living would weigh no more than if it were dead.

33 *paulum:* L and some other MSS have *paululum*, but this diminutive, like *aliquantulum*, is doubtful in the text of Cicero.

5 (p. 41) *habet:* so I have written with two of the secondary MSS. Neither the consecutive nor the final *ut* seems in place here; with my reading it stands (as commonly) for *exempli gratia*. The neighbouring *debeat* no doubt influenced the scribes in writing *habeat*.

§ 34.

9 *imbri:* so L_1 only; this form was probably alone used in the best prose; cf. the exx. quoted by Neue 1^2 235, 236.

14 *ne sint:* so H B Lm Sb; P *ne desint;* L *non sunt*, favoured by Mommsen.

15 *vires:* '*videtur glossema*' says H, but there is probably an intentional *chiasmus* in passing from *in senectute vires* to *vires a senectute.*

16 *eis quae non:* P gives *iis quoniam*, L *his quando;* only the inferior MSS have *quae non*. I suspect the true reading to be *nisi cum* (*quom*).

§ 37.

15 *vigebat in illo animus patrius et disciplina:* so H after P, excepting that P has *patrias* for *patrius* and omits *et* (which is given by some of the secondary MSS). L_1 has *vigebat in illa domus patri domus disciplina*. B with one or two other MSS gives *in illa domo mos patrius*. Mommsen confidently conjectures *vigebat in illa domo patria disciplina;* Lm gives (not very happily) *vigebat in illa domo ius patrium*, *vetus disciplina;* Sb (no better) *v. i. i. d. patrii moris disciplina*. The retention of *animus* seems to me necessitated by the context; the emphasis is laid on the *mental vigour* of Appius, not on his *conservatism*. The errors appear to have arisen from the corruption of *animus* into *dominus* (a not uncommon error) in the MS from which L was copied. If so, the opinion to which Mommsen seems to incline, that P and L were copied from the same archetype, will not hold good.

§ 38.

17 *nemini emancipata:* P and L_1 both have *mancipata* (an un-Ciceronian word); L_1 has however *neminem*. The correction was first made by Tischer, after Nonius.

22 *monumenta:* L *monumento*, which Mommsen strangely supports.

24 *augurium:* so recent edd. with L; H after P *augurum*.

31 *quas si:* Sb and others with the inferior MSS give *quae si;* H with P *quas si;* the reading of L is not recorded. *Quas* is strengthened by 28, l. 15 *quam si ipse exsequi nequeas*.

33 *iam agere non possem:* L has *agerem*, leaving out *non possem...acta vita*, a reading which Mommsen perversely supports, seeming to think that *agere* means to *plan*, and not to *execute*. Sb includes *non possem*, leaving out the rest.

§ 42.

16 *neutiquam:* said to be an archaism in imitation of Cato's style. It stands however in Att. 6, 9, 3; also ib. 9, 10, 6 and Tim. 11.

§ 43.

32 *expeteretur:* my em. for MSS *peteretur*. After *sponte* the *ex* would readily fall out, and Cic. almost constantly uses *expetere* not *petere* of the ethical *finis* or *summum bonum*.

§ 44.

4 *vinulentia:* so P_1 L; H *vinolentia* wrongly.

12 *cereo:* the em. of Mommsen after Manutius, for *crebro* or *credo*. *Cereus* is used alone as a substantive in Off. 3, 80. Cf. Sen. Dial.

9, 11, 7 *fax cereusque;* Ep. 114, 5; ib. 122, 10; Macrob. sat. 1, 7, 32; Val. M. 3, 6, 4 (an imitation of our passage) where both *cereus* and *funale* occur.

§ 47.

9 *desideratio:* L *desideratur.*

12 *ego vero:* Lm with L *libenter vero.*

16 *hoc:* om. B Sb with P.

§ 49.

28 *videbamus in studio:* so P L_2; L_1 has *mori* before *videbamus* and omits *in studio.* Lm thinks *totum* or *virum* has fallen out, but surely *videre aliquem in aliqua re* is good enough Latin. Mommsen regards *mori* as a gloss, but Sb gives *mori videbamus in studio.*

2 (p. 47) *Pseudolo:* so P, but L has *Pseudulo,* a form which Ritschl has discussed and rejected.

§ 51.

19 *ulla:* probably Cic. wrote *ullae.*

22 *nec umquam:* L has *necuiquam,* whence Mommsen followed by B recommends *nec cuiquam.*

§ 56.

25 *an nulla:* a necessary correction (generally adopted) for *an ulla;* see my n. L has *nulla* without *an.*

27 *quam dixi:* MSS *qua dixi,* for which see my n. on Acad. 2, 4.

§ 58.

10 *venationes:* the edd. have *natationes.* As however L has *aenationis* and P has the syllable *ta* written over *nationes,* I have ventured to emend.

12 *ut:* my em. for P *unum,* L and the secondary MSS *utrum.* I think the reading of P shews that the *um* was a dittographia from the final syllable of *ipsum;* the unintelligible *utum* was then variously changed into *unum* and *utrum.* I must confess myself unable to make sense, according to good Latin usages, of the common reading, left unchanged by all the edd. except Nauck (who conj. *utcumque*) and Sb who follows Nauck. [I now find *ut* is in the ed. Ascensiana.]

§ 59.

19 *loquitur:* L has *quo loquitur,* whence Mommsen conj. *colloquitur.*

22 *communem:* so MSS; H after Madvig, followed by several edd., gives *comem.* (L_1 has *comen.*) But the two words are of almost equivalent meaning in Cicero; see my n. on Lael. 65.

1 (p. 51) *recte:* Sb with P L *rite;* certainly wrong.

§ 61.

13 *A. Atilio:* I have with B added the A. because it seems scarcely likely that Cic. would insert the *praenomen* with the name of Metellus and omit it with that of Calatinus; moreover it would easily fall out before the *A* of *Atilio.*

17 *totum:* L has *itiotum*, whence some read *id totum*. *Autem* or *enim* would be more likely. Of other conjectures Bergk's *incomptum* is the most striking.

§ 68.

23 *tu in:* MSS *tum* or *tum in*, corrected by Madvig.

30 *quoniam:* MSS *cum;* it seems necessary either to change *est* into *sit* or to read *quoniam*. Lahmeyer's *si quidem* is improbable. H and others keep *cum...est.*

§ 69.

32 *natura:* so P L; the rest *vita;* cf. 80, l. 33.

3 (p. 54) *est:* MSS and edd. *sit;* but the other indicatives in the sentence seem to call for the alteration. *Id* may have fallen out after *remanet;* in which case the subjunctive would be tolerable.

§ 70.

11 *sapientibus:* so Sb after L P; H Lm *sapienti* with inferior MSS.

15 *adulescentia:* MSS and editors mostly *adulescentiam.* The sense given by the accusative is so unsatisfactory that I have followed Kayser and B in changing it.

§ 72.

33 *possit mortemque contemnere:* so P; H has *possis* and suspects *mortemque contemnere* of being a gloss; L gives *posset tamen mortem contempnere.*

3 (p. 55) *audaciter:* so most MSS; see my n.

§ 73.

17 *lacrumis:* I have been unable to accept Bergk's famous em. *dacrumis*, on the ground that if Ennius really used *dacruma* the ancient grammarians would have been certain to mention so extraordinary a form.

§ 75.

28 *recordor:* MSS and edd. *recorder;* the temporal *cum* however seems needed. Cf. 15, l. 28 *cum complector.*

§ 81.

7 *ex corporis:* I have inserted the preposition, which would easily fall out. Cicero is not likely to have constructed *relaxare* with the simple ablative.

§ 85.

32 *philosophi:* this seems to me a gloss (see n.); I have therefore bracketed it.

5 (p. 60) *utinam:* probably *ita* has fallen out before *utinam*.

ADDENDA.

p. **82**, l. 11. There is a similar error in Liv. 38, 11 where two men are mentioned as though they had been consuls in the same year, whereas they were consuls in different years.

p. **90**, n. on § 15, p. 35, l. 1. *an eis:* Lütjohann (Rhein. Mus. 1882) wishes to read *omnibus* for *quibus* or else *omnibus ne an etc.:* this is unnecessary; see my n.

p. **92**, n. on § 16, l. 15. *Appi:* speeches bearing the name of Appius Cl. and also of Tib. Coruncanius were current in Seneca's time; see Ep. 114, 13.

p. **95**, n. on § 20, l. 18. *Naevi:* Ribbeck gives *Lupo* as the title of the play.

p. **105**, n. on § 27, l. 31. *quidquid agis:* Kühnast, Liv. Synt.[2] 237 takes *agas* as iterative subjunctive, but this requires a particle of time in Cic. though not in Livy.

p. **123**, n. on § 40, l. 20. *muneri ac dono:* Sen. Ben. 6, 1, 1 distinguishes between *munus* and *donatio.*

p. **125**, n. on § 42, l. 9. Lütjohann, Rhein. Mus. 1882 condemns a great deal in the readings from here to the end of § 45 all of which he finds very disjointed. I cannot follow him. The story of T. Flamininus, which he says is brought in abruptly, seems to me quite in place as illustrating Cato's sentiments concerning pleasure.

p. **137**, n. on § 51, l. 32. *vallo:* Lütjohann conj. *munitam* on the ground that *viriditatis* cannot be the subject to *munitur*, because it has passed out of existence with the formation of the ear. The objection is hypercritical.

p. **140**, nn. on § 54. Lütjohann objects to a very great deal in the passage from here to the end of § 58. I can only follow him so far as to think the words in § 56 *sed venio...recedam* very probably a gloss made up from similar words in § 45.

p. **153**, § 71, l. 27. *si mat. et cocta decidunt:* I am now convinced that we should read either *sed m. et c. decidunt* 'but when thoroughly ripe they fall', or (more probably) *m. et c. dec.* simply (with adversative asyndeton). As the text is at present, we must understand *si matura et cocta evelluntur*, which is absurd.

p. **173**, n. on § 49. *videbamus:* Pr. Iwan Müller (in a review of this work in Bursian's Jahresbericht) proposes *vivere videbamus*, a suggestion worth consideration.

Postscript: I regret that want of space compels me to forego a discussion of the readings of that admirable scholar, C. F. W. Müller, whose edition of the *Cato maior* (in the Teubner series of texts) has appeared since the first ed. of this work.

APPENDIX B.

PASSAGES TRANSLATED OR IMITATED FROM THE GREEK.

Cato Maior. §§ 6, 7.

Laelius. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

Cato. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querellis aequalium meorum, pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur, quae...deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis a quibus essent coli soliti; qui mihi non id videbantur accusare quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se libidinum vinclis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent...

Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas au-

Plato, *Rep.* I 328 E sq.

Σωκράτης. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι χρῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, ὥσπερ τινὰ ὁδὸν προεληλυθότων, ἣν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἴσως δεήσει πορεύεσθαι, ποία τίς ἐστι, τραχεῖα καὶ χαλεπή, ἢ ῥᾳδία καὶ εὔπορος.

ἐγώ σοι, ἔφη, νὴ τὸν Δία, ἐρῶ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἷόν γέ μοι φαίνεται. Πολλάκις γὰρ συνερχόμεθά τινες εἰς ταὐτὸ παραπλησίαν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντες, διασῴζοντες τὴν παλαιὰν παροιμίαν. οἱ οὖν πλεῖστοι ἡμῶν ὀλοφύρονται ξυνόντες, τὰς ἐν τῇ νεότητι ἡδονὰς ποθοῦντες... καὶ ἀγανακτοῦσιν ὡς τότε μὲν εὖ ζῶντες, νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ ζῶντες. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων προπηλακίσεις τοῦ γήρως ὀδύρονται...ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν οὗτοι οὐ τὸ αἴτιον αἰτιᾶσθαι. εἰ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτ' αἴτιον, κἂν ἐγὼ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐπεπόνθη ἕνεκά γε γήρως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, ὅσοι ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον ἡλικίας. νῦν δὲ ἔγωγε ἤδη ἐντετύχηκα οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσι καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ ...(The story of Sophocles is imitated in § 47; see below.)

ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πέρι καὶ τῶν γε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους μία τις αἰτία ἐστίν, οὐ τὸ γῆρας, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἂν μὲν γὰρ κόσμιοι καὶ εὔκολοι ὦσι, καὶ τὸ γῆρας μετρίως ἐστὶν ἐπίπονον. εἰ δὲ μή,

tem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est...Sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias... tolerabiliorem senectutem videri.

καὶ γῆρας, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ νεότης χαλεπὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ συμβαίνει. καὶ ἐγὼ...εἶπον...οἶμαι τοὺς πολλούς, ὅταν ταῦτα λέγῃς...ἡγεῖσθαί σε ῥᾳδίως τὸ γῆρας φέρειν...διὰ τὸ πολλὴν οὐσίαν κεκτῆσθαι.

Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia; ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: 'nec hercule' inquit, 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses'. Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest; nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis.

καὶ λέγουσι μέν τι, οὐ μέντοι γε ὅσον οἴονται, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εὖ ἔχει, ὃς τῷ Σεριφίῳ λοιδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι, ὅτι οὐ διὰ αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμοῖ, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὢν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο, οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος Ἀθηναῖος. καὶ τοῖς δὴ μὴ πλουσίοις, χαλεπῶς δὲ τὸ γῆρας φέρουσιν, εὖ ἔχει ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν ὁ ἐπιεικὴς πάνυ τι ῥᾳδίως γῆρας μετὰ πενίας ἐνέγκοι, οὔθ' ὁ μὴ ἐπιεικὴς πλουτήσας εὔκολός ποτ' ἂν ἑαυτῷ γένοιτο.

§ 46.

Habeo senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit.

Plato, *Rep.* 328 D.

εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι ἔμοιγε, ὅσον αἱ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἡδοναὶ ἀπομαραίνονται, τοσοῦτον αὔξονται αἱ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιθυμίαι τε καὶ ἡδοναί.

§ 47.

Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam ... quaereret utereturne rebus veneriis, 'di meliora' inquit; 'ego vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi'.

Plato, *Rep.* 329 B.

καὶ δὴ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ ποτε τῷ ποιητῇ παρεγενόμην ἐρωτωμένῳ ὑπό τινος, πῶς...ἔχεις πρὸς τἀφροδίσια; ...εὐφήμει, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· ἁσμεναίτατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον, ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγών.

§ 78.

...cum simplex animi natura esset neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non posset, non posse interire.

Plato, *Phaedo* 78—80.

τῷ μὲν ξυντεθέντι τε καὶ ξυνθέτῳ ὄντι φύσει προσήκει τοῦτο πάσχειν, διαιρεθῆναι ταύτῃ, ᾗπερ ξυνετέθη. εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει ὂν ἀξύνθετον, τούτῳ μόνῳ προσήκει μὴ πάσχειν ταῦτα... ξυμβαίνει τῷ μὲν ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἀδιαλύτῳ καὶ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔχοντι ἑαυτῷ ὁμοιότατον εἶναι ψυχή... προσήκει ψυχῇ τὸ παράπαν ἀδιαλύτῳ εἶναι.

§ 78.

Magno esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint,

Plato, *Phaedo* 72 E—73 B.

ἡ μάθησις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀνάμνησις τυγχάνει οὖσα, καὶ ἀνάγκη που ἡμᾶς

quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabilis arripiant ut eos non tum primum accipere videantur sed reminisci et recordari.

§ 78.

Cum semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus.

§ 59.

Cyrum...cum Lysander...venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam eius a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse 'atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus, mei sunt ordines; mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae'. Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse 'recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est'.

§ 79—81.

'Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero,

ἐν προτέρῳ τινὶ χρόνῳ μεμαθηκέναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ ἦν που ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ εἴδει γενέσθαι. [Cic. has also imitated the scene in the Meno, c. 15, where Socrates questions the slave.]

Plato, *Phaedrus* 245 C.

μόνον δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ κινοῦν, ἅτε οὐκ ἀπολεῖπον ἑαυτό, οὔποτε δὴ λήγει κινούμενον.

Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* IV. §§ 20—25.

οὗτος ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται Λυσάνδρῳ, ὅτε ἦλθεν ἄγων αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δῶρα, ἄλλα τε φιλοφρονεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐν Σάρδεσι παράδεισον ἐπιδεικνύναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθαύμαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡς καλὰ μὲν τὰ δένδρα εἴη, δι' ἴσου δὲ πεφυτευμένα, ὀρθοὶ δὲ οἱ στίχοι τῶν δένδρων, εὐγώνια δὲ πάντα καλῶς εἴη, ὀσμαὶ δὲ πολλαὶ καὶ ἡδεῖαι συμπαρομαρτοῖεν αὐτοῖς περιπατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα θαυμάζων εἶπεν, 'Αλλ' ἐγώ τοι, ὦ Κῦρε, πάντα μὲν ταῦτα θαυμάζω ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄγαμαι τοῦ καταμετρήσαντός σοι καὶ διατάξαντος ἕκαστα τούτων. ἀκούσαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κῦρον...εἰπεῖν, Ταῦτα τοίνυν... ἐγὼ πάντα καὶ διεμέτρησα καὶ διέταξα, ἔστι δὲ αὐτῶν ἃ καὶ ἐφύτευσα αὐτός. Καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔφη ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδὼν τῶν τε ἱματίων τὸ κάλλος ὧν εἶχε καὶ τῆς ὀσμῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τῶν στρεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψελίων τὸ κάλλος...Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, φάναι, ὦ Κῦρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς. [Cic. had translated Xenophon's Oeconomicus in his youth. The Latin in the Cato Maior is probably nearly transcribed from that translation.]

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII. 7, 17—22.

οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δο-

nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex eis rebus quas gerebam intellegebatis. Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, cum excessissent ex eis emori; nec vero tum animum esse insipientem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuom est quo quaeque discedat, abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec cum adest nec cum discessit apparet. Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt; ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane ex corporis vinclis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote', inquit, 'ut deum, sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis'.

κεῖτε εἰδέναι ὡς οὐδέν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν τοι τήν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἑωρᾶτε, ἀλλ' οἷς διεπράττετο, τούτοις αὐτὴν ὡς οὖσαν κατεφωρᾶτε. τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ κύριαι ἦσαν; οὔτοι ἔγωγε, ὦ παῖδες, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πώποτε ἐπείσθην ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐν θνητῷ σώματι ᾖ, ζῇ, ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλλαγῇ, τέθνηκεν· οὐδέ γε ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ἡ ψυχή, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἄφρονος σώματος δίχα γένηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέπεισμαι· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐκκριθῇ, τότε καὶ φρονιμώτατον εἰκὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι. διαλυομένου δε ἀνθρώπου δῆλά ἐστιν ἕκαστα ἀπιόντα πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς· αὕτη δὲ μόνη οὔτε παροῦσα οὔτε ἀπιοῦσα ὁρᾶται. ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θανάτῳ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὕπνου· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ· τότε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται. εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐγὼ οἶμαι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι ποιεῖτε ἃ ἐγὼ δέομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι συναποθνήσκει, ἀλλὰ θεούς γε τοὺς ἀεὶ ὄντας καὶ πάντ' ἐφορῶντας καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, οἳ καὶ τήνδε τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτριβῆ τούτους φοβούμενοι μήποτε ἀσεβες μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιήσητε μήτε βουλεύσητε.

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